MAR 13 1923

The Christian East

A QUARTERLY REVIEW DEVOTED PRIMARILY TO THE STUDY OF THE EASTERN CHURCHES

EDITED BY THE REV. J. A. DOUGLAS, B.D., AND THE REV. C. NORMAN SMITH, M.A.

1s. 6d. net. MARCH, 1923. Vol. IV. No. 1.

Contents

PAGE

FRONTISPIECE—The Archpriest Smirnoff

SOME POINTS OF CONTACT—The Lord Bishop of Gibraltar 1

THE ARCHPRIEST SMIRNOFF—Biography 3

THE SMYRNA HOLOCAUST—The Rev. C. Dobson 6

THE ORTHODOX CHURCH OF GEORGIA—N.G. 11

INDIAN MOSLEMS, THE TURK AND THE CHRISTIAN RAYAH—The Rev. J. A. Douglas 14

JUSTICE FOR GREECE—J. C. Thomson 17

CHRONICLE AND CAUSERIE 35

LETTERS—Constantinople; Jerusalem; Cairo; Athens; Assyria 41

OUR BOOKSHELF—Life and Letters of W. J. Birkbeck, by Athelstan Riley; The Home of Fadeless Splendour 48

PUBLISHED FOR

THE ANGLICAN & EASTERN CHURCHES ASSOCN.

BY

THE FAITH PRESS, LTD.,

At The Faith House, 22, Buckingham Street, Charing Cross, W.C. 2.

1s. 6d. per copy. 6s. a year post free. U.S.A. and Canada per c. $2.00 a year post free.

BACK NUMBERS OF THE "CHRISTIAN EAST."

Back numbers, prior to '20, may be obtained of The General Secretary, 148, St. Charles Square, W.10, the following articles being procurable:—

1920. March. "Correspondence Between Canterbury and the Church of Russia." G. K. A. Bell. "The Doctrine of Holy Images." Adrian Bilby.

1920. June. "The Importance of St. Sophia." J. A. Douglas. "The Relations of the Constantinopolitan and Anglican Churches." "The Metropolitan of Thyateira."

1920. September. "Experience with the Eastern Orthodox." Oxford.

1920. December. "Nicea." J. A. Douglas.

1921. April. "The Locum Tenens of Constantinople." "The Church in Cyprus." Porphyrius.

1921. July. "The Election of an Ecumenical Patriarch." Middleton. "Intercommunion with the Orthodox Church." Prof. A. C. Headlam. "Reunion." Dr. Leighton Pullan.

1921. September. "Anglican Ordinations." F. Gavazzoni. "Summary of the Official Report on the Discussions in Jerusalem." "Reunion of the South Slavonic." Woodward, and in next three numbers.

1921. December. "A Visit to Serbia." H. J. Prince-Chetwin. "The Czecho-Slovak Church." Bp. Gorazd. "Relations with Mar Ignatius." (Con. March and July.)

1922. March. "Report of the Delegation to the Lambeth Conference, 1920." "Easter Orthodoxy and Anglicanism." Christodoulos.

1922. July. "Photo of the 1920 Lambeth Delegation." "The S.C.K. Resolution and Translations." "Russia under the Bolsheviks." Constantine. "Georgia." Dadeshkeliani.

1922. October. "Constantinople and Anglican Ordinations." "Letter and Encyclical of the Ecumenical Patriarch." "History of the Synaxis."

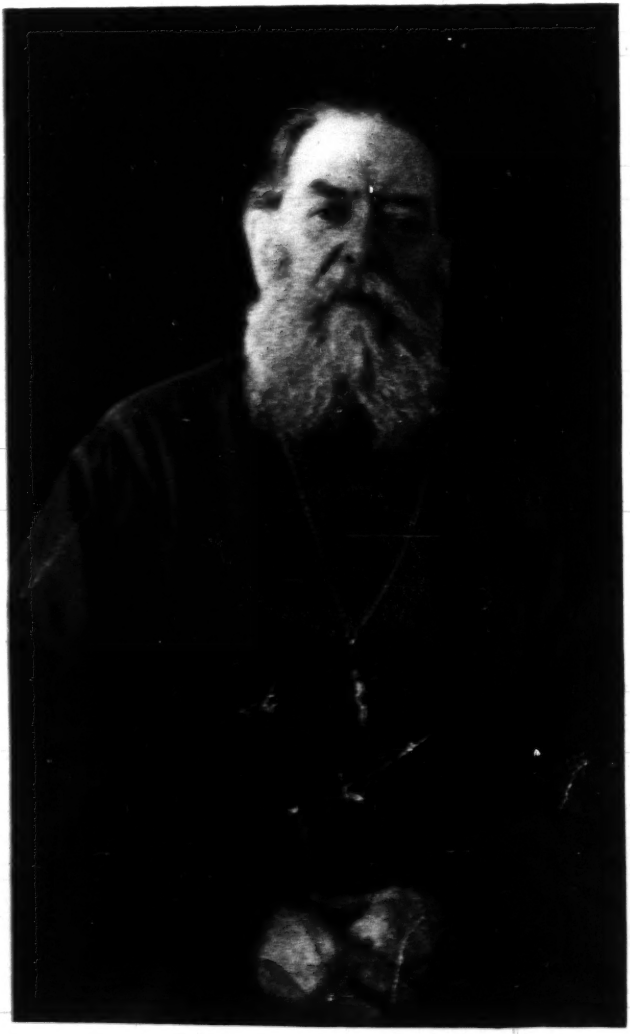
1922. December. "The Archbishop's Answer to Anglican Critics." "The Orthodox and Biblical Criticism." Gavin. "The Serb Patriarchate."

PERIODICALS RECEIVED.

Ἐκκλησιαστικὸς Φάρος. The Pharos, Constantinople.
Χριστιανικὴ Θέα. Athens.
Ἠθικὸν. The Patriarchate, Alexandria.
Πατριαρχικὸν Θρόνον. The Patriarchate, Alexandria.
Νέα Σιών. The Patriarchate, Jerusalem.
Ἀποστολικὴ Διακονία. The Archiepiscopal Offices, Athens, Greece.
Ὀρθόδοξος. c/o the Metropolitan of Athens.
Σωτὴρ. c/o the Metropolitan of Athens.
Glasnik. 4, Ilia Duridja, Belgrad, Serbia.
Ἐκκλησιαστικὴ Κρινή. 140, East Seventy-second Street, New York.
Κοινὴ Πορεία. Theological College, Halki, Constantinople.
Ὁ Νέος Λόγος. Οἶκος Κωνσταντίνου Ν. Ἀθῆναι.
Νέα Ζωή. Ὁδὸς Ἱππομένους, 179, Athens.
Ἀναδημιουργία. 38, Stadium Street, Athens.
The Moslem World. 156, New York City, U.S.A.
L'Europe Orientale. Via Nazionale 66, Rome.
Narodni Sion. Sophia, Bulgaria.
The Palestine Weekly. Jerusalem.
The Harvard Theological Review. Cambridge, Mass., U.S.A.
Solidarite. Bucharest, Roumania.
Douglas is Out. Confidential Circular.
Irenikon. Lausanne.
The Living Church. Milwaukee, U.S.A.
The Outlook. New York.

☞ NOTICE.—All letters and periodicals for the editorial department to the Rev. J. A. Douglas, Editor of the CHRISTIAN EAST, 13, Cumberland Road, Bedford, S.E.15.

140436



The Archpriest Eugene Smirnoff.

R.I.P

See p. 3.

The Christian East

SOME POINTS OF CONTACT.

BY THE LORD BISHOP OF GIBRALTAR.

I HAVE already in various ways said so much about my recent experiences with the Orthodox Churches that I don't want to fill the pages of the *Christian East* with a mere repetition of the bare facts of my journey; but bearing in mind the special character of this paper, certain events seem worth recording in its pages, owing either to their unusualness, or to their revealing beyond peradventure the attitude of certain branches of the Orthodox East towards us.

Of such events there stand out two, which seem to me to have this special value, one of which is Bulgaria, the other belonging to Rumania.

I was dining with the Holy Synod of Bulgaria and discussing various matters with the Metropolitans of Ochrida and Sophia, when the former asked me how I was conducting Divine Service on Sunday, seeing that we English have no church in Sophia. I explained that the kindness and keeness of Mr. and Mrs. Erskine, my hosts at the British Legation, were supplying me with a comely and beautiful temporary chapel, when, to my great surprise and pleasure, he offered me the use of one of their places of worship, adding that the private chapel of the Holy Synod itself was at our disposal. Of course I gratefully accepted, and when on inspection this beautiful little chapel proved all too small for anything but our early celebration, I was at once offered the parish church of St. Nicholas, Sophia, for our later service.

Accordingly, on Sunday, October 29th, I celebrated at eight in the Holy Synod's chapel, our service being attended by dignitaries of the Holy Synod, while there were added to our little congregation two or three of the leading laymen of the Bulgarian Church. Then later on we had at St. Nicholas, not only our small English congregation of about forty, but a large and very attentive congregation of Bulgarians. We sang our English mattins, and then I celebrated at an altar, not as in the small chapel, behind the *iconostasis*, but after our English mode, openly in the chancel. A large number of priests and deacons were gathered round this improvised altar, all of whom were seeing the Blessed Sacrament celebrated after our rite for the first time. I do not want to minister to more atten-

tive and reverent people than those who formed the first Bulgarian congregation who have ever assisted at Church of England services; nor shall I soon forget their evident sympathy and kindliness to which the ecclesiastics present gave expression after the service.

The other incident that I would like to cite took place at Bucharest. There are in the Rumanian capital large and excellent schools which Mr. Adeney is head of for the L.J.S. I was talking to the Archimandrite Scriben the day after I had taken a confirmation in German for half-a-dozen converts and I was going to confirm a sick Jewess in her own home a few days later. It occurred to me that here was a good chance of clearing up an issue that had rather perplexed me. As every reader of the *Christian East* will know, the last thing the diocese of Gibraltar wishes to do is to make Rumanians members of the Church of England. Yet here are we in Bucharest carrying on a mission which the Church of Rumania ought to carry on, baptising converts and confirming them, after which they quite naturally become communicants of the English Church. So I asked the Archmandrite, "Do you object to our doing this work; and ought we in your opinion to withdraw from it and leave you to do it? And do you view with any mislike my confirming these Rumanian Jews and their receiving the Blessed Sacrament at our altars and from our priests?"

To both these questions he returned a very decided and cordial negative. "This work among our Jewish population is work that ought to be done, but we cannot take it up, and so we desire that you shall go on with it. And as for your baptising and confirming these converts, we don't mind at all—far from it, we are glad that you should." I was glad to get this assurance. It did not surprise me. In principle the Rumanian Church had already almost taken up this very position when we consecrated our Church in Bucharest a fortnight earlier, on which occasion the Metropolitan sent a representative who expressed in a striking address how warmly the existence and work of our church in Rumania was welcomed by him. But the work among the Jews is not on the same footing, and I am very glad to be assured that there is no sort of dislike to our taking this part.

It is by such steps as these that the great object we all have in view, Re-union, will be achieved. There is a very long way for us to go before we reach that goal, but the atmosphere of friendship and co-operation which is beginning to exist will make the fulfilment of this great purpose secure. We have got a great deal to learn about one another and from one another. But if the process seems likely to take some time and even more trouble, it is well worth it, nor shall we have to wait till the last step is taken before we begin to reap our harvest. On the contrary, if we can go on living in this

present condition of growing amity and kindliness, with continuous and increasing help extended on all possible occasions by us to one another, and with more and more mutual understanding, each step taken will be an enrichment of a common life, and Re-union will come as the final stage of a long process, each phase of which has brought us its own immediate blessing.

There is no need or place then for impatience: nor will there be any sting in the fact that the full achievement of all that we desire cannot be attained in a year or two. Probably we need a new sort of nationalism and a new view of patriotism before complete Re-union is arrived at. It is not only in the region of doctrine and theology and of the interpretation of Scripture and Church history that we require a fresh point of view and perspective, before we can accomplish the Re-union we long for. In other spheres of thought and being in which we move quite as slow as, if not more slow than, in the religious, we must first change profoundly. But if we go on pursuing our present course we shall not be like a lonely traveller crossing a desert who can find nothing to help him—neither fellowship nor water till he reaches the river that ends the desert. Rather we shall be like a company of brethren journeying to a home of great beauty through a rich and fertile land. Every step will have its pleasure and profit and when at last we reach our goal, the beautiful home that we seek, we shall be the more ready for it, the more meet to enter, because of all that we have learnt of and from one another on the way.

THE VERY REV. ARCHPRIEST E. SMIRNOFF.

R.I.P.

THE Russian Church and the Russian Community in London have suffered a severe loss, through the death, on 4th January, of the Very Rev. E. Smirnoff, for many years Russian Priest in London. The Very Rev. Eugene Smirnoff, son of the Very Rev. Constantine Smirnoff, Vicar of one of the churches in Revel, was born in 1845, and received his primary education in German, in one of the Russian Baltic schools of that town. On leaving school he entered the Ecclesiastical Seminary of St. Petersburg, where he had already acquired a considerable reputation through his writings. Having completed his studies here, he proceeded to the St. Petersburg Ecclesiastical Academy. In 1870, he took his B.D. degree, and was appointed Church Reader to the Russian Church of the Holy Trinity in New York, and at the same time became instructor to the convert Orthodox Priest, the Rev. Bjering, a Dane by birth, who at first was not acquainted with the ritual of the Russian Orthodox Church. In 1874, he returned to St. Petersburg, where he married Zenaida, the eldest daughter of the Very Rev. Nicholas Naoumoff, Dean of the Cathedral of the Holy Trinity. A fortnight after his marriage he was ordained Priest, and was appointed Chaplain to Prince Nicholas Orloff in Brussels. On January 1st, 1876, the

private Chapel of Prince Orloff became the Embassy Chapel; and from that date the Rev. Father Smirnoff became one of the Staff of the Russian Foreign Office.

On April 4th, 1877, he was appointed by His Majesty the Emperor Alexander II., to the post of Chaplain to the Imperial Russian Embassy in London, in succession to the late Rev. Basil Popoff. He consecrated the private Chapel of H.H. Maria Alexandrovna, the Duchess of Edinburgh.

In 1882, Father Smirnoff was made Archpriest; and in 1898, he and all his family were entered in the third Division of the Hereditary Book of Nobility.

In the same year he was elected a member of the Society for the protection of women in Russia, under the Presidency of H.I.H. the Princess Eugenie of Oldenburg.

In 1896, he published in English "The Offices for the Reception into the Orthodox Eastern Church of non-Orthodox Christians;" and in 1903, he published, also in English, a short account of the "Historical development and present position of the Russian Orthodox Missions." The Russian translation of this book was published by the Holy Synod.

He received all the Russian Orders, including the Order of St. Vladimir, second class, and the Star of St. Anne. He also had numerous Foreign Decorations and Stars from the Kings of Serbia, Bulgaria and Montenegro.

The highest distinction granted to the secular clergy, viz.: the gold Mitre studded with pearls was also bestowed upon him by His Majesty the late Emperor Nicholas II. His Majesty also presented him with a very beautiful gift, a gold chain and crucifix studded with amethysts and diamonds, while Her Majesty the Dowager Empress Marie of Russia gave him a gold chain and chronometer watch with the Imperial Coat of Arms.

As a theologian the name of the Very Rev. Eugene Smirnoff is well-known all over the world. His great erudition and thorough knowledge of Anglicanism were a constant source of wonder and surprise to his many English friends and admirers.

He wrote numerous articles and reports on Mormonism, American sects, English Sectarian Movements, and last but not least on the Old Catholics. He frequently contributed interesting articles and reviews to the lay press. His treatises on Old Catholicism finally established the view of the Russian Orthodox Church on this question.

For over twenty years he was in constant correspondence with the late C. P. Pobiedonostseff, the Procurator of the Holy Synod, and a personal friend of the Emperor Alexander III.

The Very Rev. E. Smirnoff was a life-long friend of the late Mr. W. J. Birkbeck, who "at his feet" (Acts of Apostles, 20, 3) received his knowledge of Russia and the Orthodox Church.

The late Father Smirnoff left several important works in MSS.; he was a great stylist and his Russian was comparable with that of the the best Russian Classical authors. Every letter he wrote was an example of finished Russian prose.

The Rev. Father Smirnoff was endowed with a singularly beautiful voice, and possessed a very clear articulation. These, combined with his deep sense of reverence, and with the dignity of his presence gave a wonderful and impressive beauty to his rendering of the Liturgical offices of the Church.

The last years of his life were saddened by the misfortunes of his beloved Russia: while ill-health, straitened circumstances, and, more than all, the intrigues of some who should have been his friends and supporters caused him often to pray for release from the troubles of this world.

AN APPRECIATION BY A MEMBER OF A RUSSIAN PARISH.

THE Russian Colony in London has lost a true incarnation of the "Good Shepherd" sacrificing his life for the sheep. Those who knew Father Smirnoff will feel how truly this touching parable applies to one who, for more than forty years, was the loving spiritual Father of his flock, the best friend of the destitute and friendless; who always had the right words of sympathy and consolation for anyone in distress or moral affliction.

The Rev. E. Smirnoff was our Lord's "Good Shepherd," not the "hireling . . . whose own the sheep are not," who "seeth the wolf coming and leaveth the sheep, and fleeth; and the wolf catcheth them, and scattereth the sheep. The hireling fleeth, because he is an hireling, and careth not for the sheep."

For forty years the Russian flock in London had the blessing of such a shepherd as is described in the beautiful verses of the tenth chapter of St. John, who taught "as one having authority and not as the scribes;" a type of a true minister of God, such as our poet Pushkiev immortalised in his picture of Philaret, Metropolitan of Moscow.

"Oft'times, with pleasure's fulness weary,
Or wild amusement's tiring train,
Of folly, passion, dalliance dreary,
I've taught my lyre the answ'ring strain.
But now a voice has stayed my singing,
Has stilled my quiv'ring strings, 'Twas thine,
And quick my ears have caught the ringing
Of far-off harmonies Divine.
With thankful tears my eyes are filling,
Thy words have proved a healing balm,
The pangs of wounded conscience stilling,
And anguish changed to peace and calm.
And from a spirit's lofty tower
Thou reachest out a hand to me,
And storms of thought through thy love's power
Are stayed, dissolved in harmony.
The shades of earthly cares dispelling
My soul is basking by thy fire,
In secret awe the tears up-welling
The poet bears the seraph's lyre."

That "Seraph's Lyre," attributed by Pushkiev to the Metropolitan, was not a poetic hyperbole, for he really possessed it in the highest degree as one of these few chosen messengers of God's boundless mercy for his "little children" to whom in his infinite love he sends messengers on earth to arouse His flock from sin and depravation.

The Rev. E. Smirnoff undoubtedly belonged to these rare chosen ones; he was a light, not only of love, but of profound erudition: having, besides, a complete knowledge of the principal dogmas of the leading churches of Christendom, and having studied the manifold intricacies of ancient and modern philosophy, Father Smirnoff was able to grasp any questions of a theological or philosophical nature. There are few men of his erudition; he would discuss almost any question of an abstract nature in his clear concise manner with unquestionable authority.

For more than twenty years I had the happiness of enjoying the friendship of this eminent personality, and I am sure that all those who knew him intimately will feel that my humble tribute to his memory was amply deserved by this all-loving true minister of God. We have, in this age of moral and mental mediocrities, curiously contrasting with our vaunted "progress" and civilisation, so few men who can be called truly Christian in spirit, that the loss of men like Father Smirnoff is all the more felt. For the Russian community it is, alas! an irreparable loss.

PRINCE MESTCHERSKY.

THE SMYRNA HOLOCAUST.

The following sworn testimony of the Rev. Charles Dobson, the heroic Smyrna Chaplain, will be of value and interest.

I WAS in Smyrna when the Kemalist troops entered the city. For some days, previous to the entry, there was increasing apprehension among the residents. I called on the Metropolitan Chrysostomos and found that he, and, those immediately about him, were fearful of excesses when the Turks should arrive. The Metropolitan gave me a message signed by himself, and other dignitaries, including the Armenian Archbishop, praying me to get it sent with haste to the Archbishop of Canterbury. It was an appeal to him to use his influence with the British Cabinet in order to effect treating with Kemal outside the city, or in the event of an entry to insure protection of at least the lives of his people. I regret having left this message in my bureau. It was too compromising to be caught with in the last tragic days. The last clause was an appeal in the name of Christ for haste in averting the approaching calamity. In common with all British people, whom I consulted, I did not think that the Turks would behave in such a way as to justify the fears of the Metropolitan. However, I took the message to Sir Osmond de Beauvoir Brock, British Naval Commander-in-Chief. The Admiral discussed the matter sympathetically, but pointed out, that there was already considerable force on the spot, and, that he did not anticipate any but an orderly entry, if the Turks found it expedient to enter at all. He advised me to use my own discretion in cabling the Archbishop of Canterbury. But to any cable sent, to add that the British Admiral had seen the message, and, in the event of disorder, was prepared to give all the protection in his power to all sections of the Community. It must be borne in mind that there was, at that time, in official circles, no apprehension of horrors of such a magnitude as soon transpired, and, that the British Navy nobly redeemed the Admiral's promise of protection, when during the fire and killing, the naval pinnaces and destroyers stood all night into the quay of the burning city and brought off refugees. In some cases, armed pickets penetrated

into the city and brought parties back, through the flames and killing. One notable example of such work was the evacuating of the British Maternity Home with all its Greek Staff and Doctor and lying-in-patients. I asked the Admiral for authority to publish in his name a message in the Press. He said that I could tell his opinion, that any occupation would be orderly and that he advised everybody to look after the refugees from the country, who were congesting the city, and to avoid giving any provocation.

I took the Admiral's message to a meeting of six influential members, at the Headquarters of the Microasiatic Defence League. I was surprised to find, at the door of the Headquarters, civilians apparently being supplied with bandoliers and rifles. I learned that it was still hoped that a sound section of the retreating army aided by civilian volunteers, would be able to hold the city and its environments, until such time as the Allies could intervene to arrange an Armistice. I wrote the Admiral's message for the Press and left it with these five members of the League; one of them accompanied me to deliver the contents of the message to the Metropolitan. The members had asked me to facilitate their getting an interview with the Admiral, as they claimed to have information of a Turkish plot in the city. I dissuaded them from pressing the matter as there were so many wild rumours current, (including the ridiculous one of contemplated disorders by the then quietly embarking army) that I felt the Admiral had no means of arriving at the truth. I found the Metropolitan full of painful anxiety concerning his people, and, not altogether reassured by the Admiral's statement, since he (and, rightly, as it transpired) felt that he knew the Turks better than British Officers. This is the last time I saw the Metropolitan. He was truly a martyr who died through staying at his post to reassure his people.

I regret that the message, given to the Press, was very mutilated. All reference to a possible entry by Kemalist forces was eliminated, moreover, in close propinquity, that suggested continuity of the message, was a paragraph saying, that more British Naval units were on their way to Smyrna, and their transports with soldiers were coming from Gibraltar. I can only believe that those responsible for this mutilation and exaggeration, acted so in the hope of adding moral support to the forces prepared to defend the suburbs. If this is so, their action during war, is perhaps legitimate, but the consequences were deplorable, because shortly after, the contemplated resistance was abandoned, and the people still looked for the coming of British transports. Perhaps Nureddin Pacha himself was influenced by this rumour, since on the night following the occupation, they were not sure that a rumour, that British troops were covering the retreat of the Greeks at Tchesmé, was untrue.

The entry of the Kemalist cavalry came sooner than most of us expected. I personally became aware of their presence, while returning from the Consulate through a back street. There was suddenly a lot of screaming, and, a woman threw herself on her knees shrieking for protection. Next moment about a squadron of mounted rifles swept round the corner at an easy gallop; some held sabres; most carried rifles at the ready across the crupper. They pulled their horses aside to avoid riding down the woman at my feet. Up a side street I caught a glimpse of horsemen passing along the quay. They were walking and their rifles were slung. Further in the town I heard the trampling of hoofs, some shouting, and, two or three shots. When I reached home I found the masses of people in the square full of terror. Already some Turkish civilians were beginning to loot and maltreat the Greek refugees. On the whole the entry seemed to me (speaking with a close experience of actual war) to have been accomplished with very little bloodshed about our part (the Point). I had a feeling of relief that some proper authority had come to take charge of the city. I found a Greek Naval rating hiding in the garden; he would not consider the proposition of surrendering himself to a Turkisn Officer (I am astonished now that it was ever possible to suggest surrender to the Turk)! So, I rigged him out with clothes, and, perforce turned him loose to take his chance. He proudly refused money. Italian mounted reservists were co-operating with Turkish patrols in policing the city. I brought an injured man into my church; he died during the night. Next day, Sunday, I went to the Orthodox Church of St. John, which like all other churches was crammed with refugees, lying in appallingly insanitary circumstances and, terror-stricken, after a night of desultory rifle-fire and screaming. One of the priests volunteered to accompany me to bury the dead. The Turkish police commandeered a cart for us, and even offered us protection. We relied, however, on carrying the Union Jack. We found five bodies near the Aldin Railway Station. I do not think we missed many. With regard to burials, people kept coming to me and showing me bodies thrust behind hedges and in some cases lying in carts. I was particularly struck with one group, consisting of women and babies, and a young girl, almost nude, shot through the breast, and with clotted blood on her thighs and genital organs, that spoke only too clearly of her fate before death. These bodies were buried by Orthodox priests. I moved about freely in the city and soon saw that the orderliness of the entry was due to the iron discipline, the exigencies such a military entry demanded. The discipline, as far as relation to the civil population is concerned, became rapidly bad and worse. There was desultory shooting, looting and rape all over the place. The Armenian

quarters suffered severely. It was reported that the Armenians refused to surrender arms and were throwing bombs. This may have been so, but what is undoubtedly true is that Armenians were constantly being killed in their houses, their women folk ravished and their valuables stolen. In the back streets, even nationals of the Great Powers were held up and looted of their money and their valuables. Armenians, gathered in one of their churches, refused to surrender; they surrendered, finally on the promise of life for women and children; the men were marched away. We heard at the back of our house, one day, a lot of cheering in which I recognised the Turkish word "padishah" (Sultan, I think). On looking out, I saw about two hundred Greeks or Armenians kneeling and sitting on the road, guarded by Turkish soldiers. I afterwards learned from an absolutely unimpeachable source that these men were subsequently butchered. The method of killing, my informant told me, was by steel to avoid rifle fire. One could give a multitude of isolated incidents, which go to prove the absolute unleashing of lust and savagery among Kemalistic troops. I mention but one:— A child brought a message to me from the priests of an Orthodox Church, asking that I might come, and spend the night with them, in order to give them protection, because they had warning of a contemplated attack on the church, and they knew that on the previous night Turkish soldiers had burst into another church and there mutilated men and violated women. The case of Colonel Murphy, a retired Officer of the Anglo Indian Medical Service, illustrates the unbridled brutality of the Kemalist regulars. They broke into his home, at Bournabat; they violated his servants, and when he attempted to protect them stunned him with household ornaments. His daughters escaped the fate of the servants, by appealing to the officer of the party; he, evidently, not able to control his men, could only advise them to hide. Colonel Murphy was stripped and insulted. Finally, they stood him up and shot him. His wife, a lady of advanced years, was stunned; after lying wounded for a considerable time, Colonel Murphy was rescued by Sir Harry Lamb, personally, and brought to the English Nursing Home. His wife and daughters were obliged to leave him on the outbreak of fire. He died at midnight and the hospital was evacuated, at three in the morning, under the protection of strong patrols sent by the Admiral. Hardly anywhere was there immunity for Armenians. While talking in the garden of the Consulate with Captain Hole on the day before the fire, a man leapt into the garden from the roof of the adjoining house. I ran to him as he lay, and, after much expostulation, induced the soldiers, who had driven him to such a leap, and, were now covering him with their rifles, not to shoot him on British territory. On another occasion a

prisoner, being led away, roped with a number of others, broke his bonds and knelt and kissed my feet. In this, as in other cases, I was powerless to do anything. On the morning of the fire, the situation had become so bad that there was a general embarking of Europeans. Sir Harry Lamb came, in person, to the British Maternity Home to say that it was necessary to leave. He asked me to notify the people whose names were on a list that I had prepared for such an emergency. I was all the morning engaged on this work, and found that my list was incomplete and in response to the appeals of relatives had to go further afield into the city than I had contemplated doing. In the back streets there was, in some parts a great running of terror stricken people, carrying children and bedding; some of them had been injured; one man had his face smashed and his mouth bleeding. There was, constantly, shooting in the back streets, followed by screams and panic stricken running. The Turks were openly looting everywhere. One man was shot through both thighs, one of which was fractured, his screams were unheeded by the terror-stricken people. The general atmosphere was terrible, and I began to fear that we might have left our retreat till too late. The fires broke out that afternoon. I was astonished, when in Italy and again here in France to find how unwilling some circles were to believe the culpability of the Turkish troops in the burning of Smyrna. It seems to me that the firing of the city by the fanatic element of the Turkish Army was the natural culmination of the breakdown of restraints imposed by military necessities, and of the unbridled indulgence of xenophobia. I have not yet met anybody, who was in a position to know the circumstances, who does not contemptuously discredit the assertion that the Armenians fired the city. During a month, living in the Lazaretto of Malta, as a refugee, I, and my fellow refugees, have compared experiences, and as a body, when we heard of the statement that the Turks were *not guilty* of firing the city, asked the Bishop of Gibraltar who was visiting us, to ask the people of England, to suspend judgment until the truth could be known. The Bishop invited us to make a statement to him. We met him at the house of the Lieutenant Governor. We were Herbert Whitall, Senior, Robert Hadkinson with his son and J. Epstein and the three British Chaplains, respectively of Smyrna, Buornabat and Boudjat. A report of our meeting will be found in the letter of the Right Reverend the Lord Bishop of Gibraltar in the Gibraltar *Diocesan Gazette*, number two, volume six, November, 1922. It should be borne in mind that the considered opinion of these seven men, unanimously recorded here, is worthy of great respect. None of them was influenced by any consideration other than the upholding of the truth. And all had had exceptional opportunities of hearing the personal evidence of many people.

This evidence, stripped of all hysteria, disproportion, caused by personal loss, and human tendency to exaggerate is such, as to form a truly damning charge against the Turks, of having so far neglected the enforcing of discipline, that their fanatic elements, in an excess of xenophobia, fed by the licence of three days looting, fired the city, in the hope of driving out the non-Moslem and non-Jewish elements. It is most significant that the fire shot up in several places with very little intervals of time, and pointed to a systematic incendiarism such as only a well co-ordinated movement could have effected. Also, that the city was fired immediately after the changing of a wind that for the previous three days was in the general direction of the Turkish quarter. Any fire, previous to this change, would have swept the Turkish quarters. Independent witnesses, who have been at Smyrna since the fire, speaking of the unsatisfactory and lame stories of the Turks, tend to confirm their guilt in this matter. I have met, recently, a nurse, who left Smyrna ten days after the fire and who told me of her work in extracting bullets from bodies of wounded children, and who was a witness of the ravishing of Greek women. I mention this to show that the Turkish treatment of the Christian population was not a sudden excess, but a sustained policy. The Reverend Robert Ashe, now Chaplain at Cartagena (Spain) told me of the fate of the Greek priest of Boudjah; his informant was the brother of the Roumanian Consul. According to him, this priest was blinded and then crucified on the door of Mr. Gordon's house in Boudjah. The Turkish soldiers nailed horse shoes to his hands and feet; he was dead when the Consul's brother saw him, he kissed his hands and left him there.

I have tried, in giving this account, to avoid being influenced by hostility to the perpetrators of these horrors. Also, I have omitted many small incidents that carry conviction to my own mind of the barbarity of the Kemalistic forces, but which it might be egotistical to dwell on. The Bishop of Gibraltar in his letter to the *Times* of the November the 8th, has in measured and restrained language warned his countrymen of the "Asiaticness" of the Turk.

THE ORTHODOX CHURCH OF GEORGIA.

By A RUSSIAN THEOLOGIAN.

"Speak every man truth with his neighbour."—*Ephesians*, iv, 25.

THE Prince Ilamaz Dadeshkeliani's article in *The Christian East* (July and October, 1922), dealing with this subject, misrepresents the facts very greatly in many instances, and gives an unfair impression against the Russian Church. We shall point out, as briefly as possible, only a few of the most striking misrepresentations:—

1.—The author states very emphatically that the Orthodox Church of Georgia was deprived of her autocephality by the laic power, and by

an act which was canonically invalid, and that the Russian Exarchate in Georgia was thus an unlawful and anticanonical institution. But the actual facts were that Georgia by her own wish, as it was said " by the prayers of her people," brought herself under subjection to Russia, and became territorially part and parcel of Russia. The Georgian Church did not protest then and did not claim any special rights ; and it stood to reason. What would be her canonical position under the new conditions ? Prince I. Dadeshkeliani himself answers the question when he cries out against a Church as " utterly unknown to Orthodox canonical law," which is *national non-territorial*, because " the existence of a *whole non-territorial* local Church is utterly unknown to the Canon Law " (October, pp. 132, 133). It looked as if the autocephaly of the Georgian Church canonically had to end, and she had with a lawful necessity to pass under the jurisdiction of the Russian Church authorities, as the reverse was, of course, impossible, and contrary to the author's statement (July, p. 66)—neither the Canon Law nor historical practice know the compulsory rule that " the Orthodox Church classes the local churches of which she is composed by order of seniority," *i.e.*, comparative antiquity.

That is why the new order of ecclesiastical administration of the Georgian Church was always and invariably recognised by the whole Orthodox Œcumenical Church. Even the Georgian Church nationalists did not dispute the same. More than that, in commemoration of the centenary of the Russian Exarchate in Georgia, a panegyrical book was published by the same Bishop Kyrion, who became the first Catholicos-Patriarch of the Georgian autocephalous Church set up in 1917, by the secular power of the Provisional Government, this time certainly in contradiction of all canonical norms.

2.—Branding the Russian Exarchate in Georgia as " illegal and anti-canonical," Prince I. Dadeshkeliani stigmatises it also by various unsubstantiated and doubtful anecdotes (July, p. 72), and at the same time extols the high authority of the Georgian clergy, who with complete self-denial collaborated with the Exarchate (October, p. 131). But, history shows no such contrast to the disadvantage of the Russian ; but on the contrary, there were many sad facts of unrestrained and repressive acts on the part of the Georgians. It is enough to mention that the Rector of the Ecclesiastical Seminary in Tiflis, the archpriest Chudestky, was killed, and that the Exarch Archbishop Nikon (Sofigsky) was murdered by Georgians, with unheard-of brutality. These and other facts are, no doubt, well known to Prince I. Dadeshkeliani, who knows also their ethical and canonical value. The details of the latter are particularly instructive by its organisation and the persons who had a hand in it.

3.—The Russian Church to which passed the actual administration of the Georgian Church did not forcibly and despotically abolish her autocephaly, but administered her just as an Exarchate: thus testifying to and recognising the canonical rights of the Georgian Church. Therefore the Russian Church, as far as the position permitted, never refused to revise and to regularise the administration of the Georgian Church, in regard to her autocephalous privileges which have always had defenders among the Russian hierarchy. The author mentions a dull conservative Russian politician, the furious and ignorant Durnovo, but for an unknown reason leaves out the name of the resolute and open champion of admissible autocephaly of the Georgian Church, that most

authoritative Russian prelate now living in Serbia, the Metropolitan of Kiev, Anthony (Khrapovitsky). It was most unfortunate that the Georgian activists themselves transferred this purely ecclesiastical question to the political grounds, out of which it originally arose, with the result that the question received a direction impossible for the ecclesiastical authorities. The Georgians insisted with provoking sharpness that the independent Georgian Church was and ought to be the principal factor of the power and glory of the National Georgian State (July, p. 68), " the strength and stay of the nation " (October, p. 136). It is only natural that the Russian Church neither desired nor could deal with a purely ecclesiastical matter in such a revolutionary and anti-Church setting.

4.—On the contrary, the Russian Church, within the limits of her own freedom was always ready to review and re-arrange the Georgian ecclesiastical administration, as she had not and could not have any egoistical interests in the matter. Prince I. Dadeshkeliani states quite incorrectly that the Russian Holy Synod desired, in 1906, to eliminate from the programme of the Preliminary Commission, the question of Georgian autocephaly, and was only compelled to include it against its own will. This statement is entirely a fiction, having no ground whatever in the facts. The Holy Synod quite independently decided to form a special commission to deal with Georgian ecclesiastical affairs, *i.e.*, out of its own members and a number of specialists invited for the purpose. The acts of this commission were printed and published, and one feels quite astonished at the exceptional daring with which Prince I. Dadeshkeliani attempts to pervert well-known facts (October, pp. 132, 133). It is enough only to mention that the Georgian representatives (with the exception of the compact triumvirate composed of Bishops Kyrion and Leonidas and Professor Tsagareli), were far from agreeing among themselves; for instance, the Georgian Bishop Euthymios was altogether against separist claims, wishing for an exarchical administration, but in a recognised form. Other members also could not agree, *e.g.*, Professor Ya Marr, specially mentioned by Prince I. Dadeshkeliani, disagreed with all his colleagues and particularly with Professor A. S. Khakhanoff (also a Georgian), who is not mentioned by the author. Professor Marr attended only one or two sittings, created an unprovoked, unseemly scandal, noisily left the room and never appeared at the sittings again. The Russian ecclesiastical authorities, however, published his scientific report without any alterations, and even praised it for the new historical data contained in it. And now that same Professor Marr, seeing the bitter fruit of his teaching and actions, complains with tragical *naïveté* of his Georgian disciples, and of all their " independent " Georgian politics ! ! It is not a fact that " the Georgian delegation withdrew from the Preliminary Commission " (October, p. 132), because of conspiratorial considerations. It turned out to be a complete failure, showed irreconcilable internal divergence of opinions and naturally fell to pieces. One more important circumstance, left out by the author, may be mentioned: the Georgian Church question was debated, not only in the special Commission, but also in the general sittings of the whole Preliminary Commission, which was composed of lay members, as well as of the clergy, who were mostly too liberal at the time; and, all the same, the Georgian claims had no success, notwithstanding the arguments of the Georgian representatives and the strong help of Russian adherents.

an act which was canonically invalid, and that the Russian Exarchate in Georgia was thus an unlawful and anticanonical institution. But the actual facts were that Georgia by her own wish, as it was said "by the prayers of her people," brought herself under subjection to Russia, and became territorially part and parcel of Russia. The Georgian Church did not protest then and did not claim any special rights; and it stood to reason. What would be her canonical position under the new conditions? Prince I. Dadeshkeliani himself answers the question when he cries out against a Church as "utterly unknown to Orthodox canonical law," which is *national non-territorial*, because "the existence of a *whole non-territorial* local Church is utterly unknown to the Canon Law" (October, pp. 132, 133). It looked as if the autocephaly of the Georgian Church canonically had to end, and she had with a lawful necessity to pass under the jurisdiction of the Russian Church authorities, as the reverse was, of course, impossible, and contrary to the author's statement (July, p. 66)—neither the Canon Law nor historical practice know the compulsory rule that "the Orthodox Church classes the local churches of which she is composed by order of seniority," *i.e.*, comparative antiquity.

That is why the new order of ecclesiastical administration of the Georgian Church was always and invariably recognised by the whole Orthodox Œcumenical Church. Even the Georgian Church nationalists did not dispute the same. More than that, in commemoration of the centenary of the Russian Exarchate in Georgia, a panegyrical book was published by the same Bishop Kyrion, who became the first Catholicos-Patriarch of the Georgian autocephalous Church set up in 1917, by the secular power of the Provisional Government, this time certainly in contradiction of all canonical norms.

2.—Branding the Russian Exarchate in Georgia as "illegal and anti-canonical," Prince I. Dadeshkeliani stigmatises it also by various unsubstantiated and doubtful anecdotes (July, p. 72), and at the same time extols the high authority of the Georgian clergy, who with complete self-denial collaborated with the Exarchate (October, p. 131). But, history shows no such contrast to the disadvantage of the Russian; but on the contrary, there were many sad facts of unrestrained and repressive acts on the part of the Georgians. It is enough to mention that the Rector of the Ecclesiastical Seminary in Tiflis, the archpriest Chudestky, was killed, and that the Exarch Archbishop Nikon (Sofigsky) was murdered by Georgians, with unheard-of brutality. These and other facts are, no doubt, well known to Prince I. Dadeshkeliani, who knows also their ethical and canonical value. The details of the latter are particularly instructive by its organisation and the persons who had a hand in it.

3.—The Russian Church to which passed the actual administration of the Georgian Church did not forcibly and despotically abolish her autocephaly, but administered her just as an Exarchate: thus testifying to and recognising the canonical rights of the Georgian Church. Therefore the Russian Church, as far as the position permitted, never refused to revise and to regularise the administration of the Georgian Church, in regard to her autocephalous privileges which have always had defenders among the Russian hierarchy. The author mentions a dull conservative Russian politician, the furious and ignorant Durnovo, but for an unknown reason leaves out the name of the resolute and open champion of admissible autocephaly of the Georgian Church, that most

authoritative Russian prelate now living in Serbia, the Metropolitan of Kiev, Anthony (Khrapovitsky). It was most unfortunate that the Georgian activists themselves transferred this purely ecclesiastical question to the political grounds, out of which it originally arose, with the result that the question received a direction impossible for the ecclesiastical authorities. The Georgians insisted with provoking sharpness that the independent Georgian Church was and ought to be the principal factor of the power and glory of the National Georgian State (July, p. 68), " the strength and stay of the nation " (October, p. 136). It is only natural that the Russian Church neither desired nor could deal with a purely ecclesiastical matter in such a revolutionary and anti-Church setting.

4.—On the contrary, the Russian Church, within the limits of her own freedom was always ready to review and re-arrange the Georgian ecclesiastical administration, as she had not and could not have any egoistical interests in the matter. Prince I. Dadeshkeliani states quite incorrectly that the Russian Holy Synod desired, in 1906, to eliminate from the programme of the Preliminary Commission, the question of Georgian autocephaly, and was only compelled to include it against its own will. This statement is entirely a fiction, having no ground whatever in the facts. The Holy Synod quite independently decided to form a special commission to deal with Georgian ecclesiastical affairs, *i.e.*, out of its own members and a number of specialists invited for the purpose. The acts of this commission were printed and published, and one feels quite astonished at the exceptional daring with which Prince I. Dadeshkeliani attempts to pervert well-known facts (October, pp. 132, 133). It is enough only to mention that the Georgian representatives (with the exception of the compact triumvirate composed of Bishops Kyrion and Leonidas and Professor Tsagareli), were far from agreeing among themselves ; for instance, the Georgian Bishop Euthymios was altogether against separist claims, wishing for an exarchical administration, but in a recognised form. Other members also could not agree, *e.g.*, Professor Ya Marr, specially mentioned by Prince I. Dadeshkeliani, disagreed with all his colleagues and particularly with Professor A. S. Khakhanoff (also a Georgian), who is not mentioned by the author. Professor Marr attended only one or two sittings, created an unprovoked, unseemly scandal, noisily left the room and never appeared at the sittings again. The Russian ecclesiastical authorities, however, published his scientific report without any alterations, and even praised it for the new historical data contained in it. And now that same Professor Marr, seeing the bitter fruit of his teaching and actions, complains with tragical *naïveté* of his Georgian disciples, and of all their " independent " Georgian politics ! ! It is not a fact that " the Georgian delegation withdrew from the Preliminary Commission " (October, p. 132), because of conspiratorial considerations. It turned out to be a complete failure, showed irreconcilable internal divergence of opinions and naturally fell to pieces. One more important circumstance, left out by the author, may be mentioned : the Georgian Church question was debated, not only in the special Commission, but also in the general sittings of the whole Preliminary Commission, which was composed of lay members, as well as of the clergy, who were mostly too liberal at the time ; and, all the same, the Georgian claims had no success, notwithstanding the arguments of the Georgian representatives and the strong help of Russian adherents.

All the above is not in the least degree directed against the Georgian Autocephalous Church, for which we most sincerely wish independent development and the highest spiritual well-being. We think only that she, after so quickly and tragically losing her new Catholicoi, will attain her aims neither by excusive claims nor by recrimination, but by her love of conciliation and internal development in which she has been helped as much as possible by the Russian Church, which is so nearly akin to her and which still uses her own cultural attainments to her in her ecclesiastical strivings.

INDIAN MOSLEMS, THE TURK AND THE CHRISTIAN RAYAH.

By J. A. DOUGLAS.

India in the Balance: *British Rule and the Caliphate*. By Khwagah Kemal-ud-Din, Imam of the Mosque. *The Islamic Review*, Woking. 4s. 1922.

The House Divided: *England, Islam and India*. By the same. 5s.

Τὰ Δίκαια Τοῦ Οἰκουμενικοῦ Πατριαρχείου ἐν Τουρκίᾳ. By the Metropolitan Kallinikos of Kyzikos, the Patriarchal Press. Constantinople. 1922.

The Martyrdom of Smyrna and Eastern Christendom. By Lysimachos Œconomos, Lecturer in Byzantine History in the University of London. 7s. 6d. Allen & Unwin.

Christiani ad Leones: *The Great Powers and the Eastern Christians*: *A Protest*. By W. Pember Reeves. The Anglo-Hellenic League, 53, Chancery Lane. 1922.

IN a very remarkable letter, read at the Mansion House Meeting of 12th December, 1921, held to protest against the handing over of Cilicia to the Turks, and against the measures taken by Mustapha Kemal to extirpate the Armenians and Greeks of Asia Minor, the Archbishop of Canterbury was at great pains to say that he would have nothing to do with any political attack on Islam and that, if he intervened on behalf of the victims of Turkish barbarity, he did so, not because they were Christians, but because they were human beings.

In this sheaf of books we have the case for the Turks and for their Christian *rayah* stated by advocates, who, if extreme partisans in either direction, are competent, sincere and desirous of being reasonable.

For our own part, our judgment, and, it is only fair to admit, our sympathy, inclines to press down the balance altogether against the Turk. None the less we desire to state the case fairly, and in order to do so, as far as possible, to divest ourselves of any prejudice which might lead us to champion the Greek, Armenian and Syrian

rayah against their Moslem masters. If, therefore, we misrepresent the Khwagah Kemal-ud-Din in our description of his two books, we shall be genuinely sorry, and we are at pains to say that we have set ourselves to understand their *thesis* and to do it justice. Such treatment is due to any opponent who is temperate and courteous, as is the Khwagah invariably. But it is due to him especially because he is not only the respected and learned representative of Islamic Theology in Great Britain, but writes as an Indian Moslem with the express purpose of warning the British public that while there is no considerable Indian will to be disloyal to the British Empire, there is the gravest and most wide-spread discontent in India as to the method of British rule, and that that discontent is now reinforced by an ever-growing belief among Indian Moslems that, in her treatment of the Turks, Great Britain is attempting a deliberate injury to Islam.

We are not concerned in the *Christian East* with the general complaint against Anglo-Indian government, but we are very much concerned with the indictment that British championship of the Christian races of Turkey is actuated by a desire to weaken or otherwise to injure Islam. That we should wish the power of Great Britain to be used to secure the immunity of our fellow Christians from persecution or oppression is justified on true Islamic principles, as we are assured by the Khwagah's presentation of Islamic principles, no less than on our own. That we should labour for the victory of the Cross over the Crescent by the conversion of the Moslem, he must agree is only the obverse of his own finely-expressed longing to propagate Islam. But our armoury in that warfare is avowedly, and by every Christian principle, limited to the weapons of the Spirit, to Reason, to Love, to God's Grace. We profess, and believe ourselves to be altogether sincere in professing, that a Christian triumph won by any other instrument is not only to be condemned, but in the long run is tantamount to defeat. Accordingly the Khwagah ought to attribute sinister motives neither to our inability to endorse the demands which he makes on the British Empire in the name of the Indian Moslems nor to the claims which we make on behalf of the Christians of Turkey. His viewpoint and our own are vastly far apart. If we understand him aright the two are well-nigh irreconcilable, at least in principle. There is all the more reason then that each of us should honour the other as a knightly adversary whose faith is good and with whom we would shake hands gladly.

On our side we English Christians see the good in Islam. We appreciate and thank God for it. We are not only desirous to live in just peace with Moslems in general and as fellow-citizens of a single Empire with Indian Moslems in particular, we are also eager to establish ties and to develop affinities with Islam where such

ties and affinities can rightly exist or be formed. Mankind needs the co-operation of all spiritual religions—and we recognise thankfully the spiritual in Islam—to work out its salvation. Let Christian and Moslem be true to the Truth as either knows it and follow the Light on the road which shows straight. God will bring us to the meeting place.

After this long exordium, which certainly has not been written without purpose, let us get to our books.

In *India in the Balance*, the Khwagah puts his case very clearly. Though both points are developed through the book, it may be divided for our purpose into two headings :—

I.—He maintains that the British Government has failed in the duty of protecting the Religion of its Moslem Indian citizens, a duty the past performance of which merited their loyalty on Islamic principles and the present failure in the performance of which on the same principles justifies passive, if not open, disloyalty on their part.

II.—He maintains that the British treatment of the Turks as instanced in the Treaty of Sèvres is unwarranted and is motived by a will to impair and to weaken Islam in favour of Christianity.

That is to say, he dismisses indignantly—almost angrily—as mere malice or propaganda, statements such as that with which M. Clemenceau handed Ferid Damad the Sèvres Treaty or which Lord Curzon made in the City before going to Lausanne. His case is that, left to themselves, the Turks would make a democratic, progressive, well-governed nation, that the atrocities with which they are charged are for the most part sheer invention and for the rest regrettable, but not unpardonable, acts of retaliation for unbearable injuries, that they may be safely trusted to rule subject Christian nations and that, therefore, the reduction of Turkish sovereignty to the lands which are predominantly Turkish in population and the maintenance of Capitulations or other European protection of foreigners and of native Christians in the Ottoman dominions are unnecessary, injurious and indefensible.

The Khwagah establishes his first proposition by the following argument. Our conception of Islam, founded on writers such as Sale and his successors, is altogether wrong. Islam is *not* a religion of the sword. On the contrary, it is a religion of peaceful conversion, tolerant in ideal and altogether democratic in its world vision. As such it must be judged by its principles and its laws and not by their breach. Of necessity the Moslem must prefer a Moslem government in the abstract, but, provided the government under which he lives is just, he is forbidden by the Qur'an to rebel against it. It does not matter what that government is. If, as in India, it is Christian, the fact that Islam claims to be the fulfilment of true

Christianity makes its rule the more acceptable. But the test of the justice of any government under which the Moslem lives and, therefore, the condition of his loyalty to it, is that it should not only give him freedom in the exercise of his Religion, but should protect the interests of Islam. It is in the second *quid pro quo* that the Khwagah finds Great Britain to have fallen short of her duty lamentably. In neither of his books does he utter a hint of complaint as to the *régime* under which the Indian Moslems live. Admittedly they are secured in complete liberty to frame their *statuts personnels* and to regulate their lives according to Islamic Law. Cases involving their marriages, testamentary dispositions and so forth, are outside the purview of non-Moslem law courts, and are settled by their own *ulema*. They establish and administer their own schools and charities. In fact, they constitute a Moslem world which the Government safeguards, but into which it never intrudes. Accordingly, the Khwagah's *gravamen* deals not with the Indian domestic situation, but with British Foreign policy towards the Turks and, therefore, as he argues, towards the Khalifate.

Its temperate and lucid development is highly instructive, both as to the nature of the Indian doctrine of the Khalifate, and as to the mental pose of the Indian Moslem towards Europe. If—we would beg the Khwagah to pardon this "if"—it represents the mind of all the Moslem world, then either it vindicates Islam against the prevalent European belief that it is a Religion of the Sword, or it convicts Moslems of being untrue to their Religion. But whether or no the great body of his co-religionists will agree that the unsheathing of the sword to spread Islam is illegitimate, nothing can be more plain than that he holds it to be so. We may quarrel with his premises or even with his logic, but we are bound to do worthy honour to his spirit.

In a nutshell, what he tells us is this. The rule of the Gezirat-ul-Arabi, *i.e.*, of Arabia, in its wide sense as including Iraq (Mesopotamia) and Syria, is guaranteed by *QUR'ANIC* revelation to the Khalifs, or successors (for that is the simple meaning of the Arabic *Khalifa*), of Mahommed for a great and necessary purpose, essential to Islam. That purpose is that "the land"—*el ard*—(*i.e.*, the Holy Places and the *hiram* or territory forbidden to all but Moslems in which they are situated) should preserve, as we say, the living tradition of Islam, as it was established through the work of the Prophet. It was for this end that Arabia has been kept altogether Moslem for 13 centuries, and that one of the five pillars of Islam, the Pilgrimage to Mecca, was divinely enjoined. Thus Arabia has ever been, as it was ordained to be, the heart of the Moslem system, and the pilgrimage has been the means by which, as it were, it has gathered in the life-blood of Islam and has sent it out again purified,

restored and invigorated. There is nothing of magic about the sanctity of Mecca. This preservation of Arabia, as the standard and home of primitive Qur'anic tradition and life, has been and always will be the special and unique function of the Khalifs, the successors of the Prophet. It is the "be all" and the "end all" of the existence of their office. That it may be exercised, necessitates the Khalifate's possessing temporal power, for Arabia must be safeguarded against aggression and the pilgrimage must be protected. Islam, indeed, is a spiritual kingdom, but in this limited sense it projects itself as temporal. It must have a central Empire, and that central Empire must be obedient to the Khalif. There is nothing sacramental about the making of a Khalif. He is no divinely ordained Caesar ruling over Islam. He is not its Pope. There is no sanctity in his person. He is simply the Moslem ruler elected, or acclaimed, by the whole of Islam to be the Prophet's successor as the guardian of "the land," and, therefore, the spiritual chief of all Moslems. If he be unworthy or fail in his duty, especially if he lose Arabia, he is deposed, *ipso facto*. It is no concern of anyone but a Moslem as to how the Khalifate became attached to the Sultanate of Turkey or as to whether that is the best arrangement. The thing to be noted is that Turkey, no matter whether the Sultanate be continued or not, is *the* central Moslem Empire, that it puts itself at the disposal of the Khalif accepted by all Moslems and that, therefore, the British Government owes it to the Indian Moslems to see that the Khalif's rule over Arabia is maintained and that Turkey is strong and independent. Thus, be it noted above everything, to weaken Turkey is to deal a blow at the spiritual life of Islam.

We trust that we have reproduced the Khwagah's theory of the Khalifate fairly and correctly. If so, there is no point here in asking whether the Moslem world has lived and moulded itself by that theory or whether it is accepted, to say nothing of the Persians and other Shiites, by all Indian Moslems, by the Arabs—or by the modern Turks themselves. It is enough for us that it is held, at least, by the Khwagah and by a large and earnest body of Indian Moslem opinion. Accordingly, in saying that we cannot accept its implication, we desire to write respectfully, sympathetically and delicately. The sum of the matter, however, is that, just as Europe has come almost unanimously to hold the similar demand of the Papacy for the possession of temporal power to be impossible, so we hold it as axiomatic that no Religion can claim defensibly that the whole life of large countries must perforce be fashioned exclusively on its pattern or under its control. Still less can we accede to the proposition that it is the business of the rest of the world to see perforce that such a claim is satisfied.

We cannot agree in principle that Arabia must be regarded as

for ever and unchangeably Moslem or that Moslems have any right to demand that because Turkey is—we quote words used by the Moslems at Gaya on 5th January, 1923—"the Sword of Islam," the temporal instrument by which the Khalif safeguards the Islamic character of Arabia, its Empire must be sacrosanct.

But, if we must repudiate these propositions in principle, we desire to be considerate in their repudiation. We are convinced that, as Roman Catholicism has sloughed off the doctrine of the Supremacy of the Pope over all Kings, so the finely spiritual and noble Islam, depicted by the Khwagah, will succeed in forgetting the analogous requirement that its Khalif must be master of a rich and powerful military empire. In the meantime we are very ready to do *everything in our power* to avoid conflict on the issue of principle and to give time opportunity to do its work of reconciliation.

That limitation, "everything in our power," however, brings us to the bitter controversy as to whether it is right to rehabilitate the Turkish Empire and to give the Turk freedom to do what he will with his own, *i.e.* with his subject races.

We come thus to the Khwagah's allegation that the accusation of oppression, persecution and massacre brought against the Turks are political or ecclesiastical propaganda—mere camouflage to cover an attack on the Khalifate and to excuse the dismemberment of the Central Moslem Empire.

As such, he meets them in three fashions, and dismisses them *per saltum*:—

(*a*) As being either inventions or monstrous exaggerations,[1]

(*b*) As the reaction of atrocities, committed by the Greeks in Smyrna, Thrace and neighbouring countries which "must of necessity tend to create that abnormal condition of mind even in the Turk, which will goad him, if only for the moment, into emulating the horrors of their enemies' savagery"[2] and

(*c*) by the counter-charge which we may note was uttered at Lausanne by Riza Nur in the matter of the Armenians and Assyrians, that whatever misfortunes have fallen on the Christians of Turkey have fallen on them, not because they are Christians, but because they have requited Moslem toleration and kindness by lending themselves as instruments to the predatory designs of the enemies of Turkey and of Islam.

In regard to the first two lines of defence and of counter-accusation, we should point out that the charge against the Turks of habitual, wholesale, deliberate massacre has been held good by the vast

[1] See *e.g.*, *The House Divided*, Chapter I, 3.
[2] See *India*, p. 47.

majority of Englishmen on evidence which is historical. It would take a good deal of proof to convince us that propaganda has invented the records of the massacre of many tens—or hundreds—of thousands of Christians and the horrors done in Chios, Constantinople and elsewhere in 1821–22, or the chain of recurrent reproductions of that horror in seas of blood from that date up to 1914, *e.g.*, the Bulgar atrocities of the seventies, the Macedonian of the nineties, the Armenian butcheries of 1897 and 1908, and so on. The Khwagah can hardly contend that they were reprisals. If so, unless for the mediæval misdeeds of the Latins in Spain or Sicily, for what? Moreover, he makes no mention of the terrible happenings which took place between 1914 and 1918, behind the fog of war. But if, when he dismisses the existence of Turkish outrage, he is writing of the evidence given in French, American and British official publications, and is asking us to believe that it is simply inventive propaganda, what has he to say to Dr. Johannes Lepsius, the German patriot who risked imprisonment and defied the Kaiser by publishing in 1916, his Report on the Situation of the Armenian People?[1] In 1916, the Turko-German cause was in its heyday. Does the Khwagah ask us to believe that for propaganda's sake Dr. Lepsius slipped home to Germany to tell the Kaiser that the Turks had bidden the Armenians choose between deportation to the Syrian deserts and conversion to Islam, that in every village and town heralds were being sent to announce the alternative, that men and lads who rejected Islam and started on the death march were being butchered by the road side and that women and children were being subjected to every outrage? Or would he have us take as mere camouflage the batch of authoritative documents published by Naoum Bey[2]—the plain orders to see that the deportees perished issued to the Vali at Aleppo and so forth by the Grand Vizier, or the narratives of the Europeans who saw the scanty remnants reach their destination and perish—or the sober statement of the American Ambassador, himself a Jew.[3] Again, except for ancient history, for what could these ruthless barbarities have been reprisals?

We suggest, therefore, to the Khwagah that, if there be any validity—and we cannot see any—in the reprisal apology, he should rather use it to condone the sweeping crimes which he declares to have been committed by the Greeks during their occupation of Asiatic territory and Thrace than those which, unless he abandons the Turkish cause, he is constrained to deny on the part of the Turks. As to the villainy of such disgusting, brutal and horrible things as he is able to prove against the Greeks, strong though his words are,

[1] A translation was published in Paris, 1917, by Payot et Cie
[2] Hodder & Stoughton, 1920.
[3] *Secrets of the Bosphorus*, Morgenthau Hutchinson, 1918

we take them as our own. Assuredly, we do not extenuate it and we never have extenuated it on any ground whatever. The fact is that in giving ground for counter-charges the Greek soldiers gave the Turkophil a fatal *tu quoque* with which to cloud the issue and to hamstring the advocacy of the ***rayah***'s cause. But we are bound to protest on the evidence before us that, if qualitatively sporadic Greek misdoings have been comparable with the doings of the Kemalists, quantitatively they have been as a drop to a hogshead. We have before us the file of the Lausanne Turkish Bureau's literature on the subject for 1921 and 1922, including, *e.g.*, the Report of Miss Billing and her colleague of the American Relief on what they saw in Bithynia. Horrible though that report, which is the only document adduced by the Khwagah in support of his charges, is, it matches the French and British account of what had been done previously at Nikaea and elsewhere in the same region by the Turks, under Kemal, in 3 days, neither for wanton bestial cruelty, nor for the number of victims. It is the same with the records of what happened in the Menander Valley and in the other relatively few districts of Anatolia and Thrace [1] where atrocities upon Turks are authenticated. On the other hand, from every part of Asia Minor comes what seems to us to be irrefutable evidence of the deliberately planned and wholesale extirpation of the Christian *rayah*. In deference to the Khwagah, we are willing to suspend judgment in controversy with him in regard to the value of the statements of what Colonel Rawlinson saw in 1921, while a Kemalist prisoner, or of the cold narrative written by Dr. Ward, the American, on leaving Asia Minor in May last.

He must himself admit, however, that the totality of the broad and sweeping charges which the Kemalist Bureau has levelled at the Greeks are altogether beggared by the catena of press cuttings, principally from the telegrams of Mr. Clayton and other correspondents of the Turkophil Hearst Press, which Professor Œkonomos has brought together to illustrate the Holocaust of Smyrna, and the massacres in other cities, towns and villages of last September. The Khwagah cannot persuade us that his book, M. Puaux's brochure, Dr. Wigram's article in our last issue, Mr. Dobson's sworn statement in our present issue, and the wealth of other literature already available on the subject are invented or exaggerated propaganda. To be fair to him, he does not do so. He is aghast at what the Turks did and at most apologises for it as a reprisal. But when he does that, we cannot but ask him to note that the Turkish army was indulged with four days of arson, plunder, rape and murder under

[1] We have searched for any Greek ill-doings in Thrace. The atrocities which the Kemalist press stated to be taking place during the evacuation of Thrace have been declared by the French Command to be an absolute fabrication. No *first-hand* European evidence has yet been published of Greek atrocities committed during the evacuation of Ionia and Bithynia.

the actual presidency of Kemal himself, that Nur-ed-Din, who conducted the operation and himself handed the Metropolitan Chrysostom over to an outrageous death at the hands of the Turkish mob, was both sought for by Ferid Pasha Damad in 1918, as a notorious butcher of Armenians and still holds the command of a Kemalist army corps, and, above all, that no word of regret for the burning of the great Christian city and the incidental death—we write a very moderate figure which the Khwagah will not challenge—of sixty thousand defenceless men, women and children, has modified the victorious pæan uttered by the Turkish Nationalists over their two leaders' achievement.

Lastly, before we pass on from this matter of reprisal we should draw the Khwagah's attention to the facts that 40,000 Smyrniate Moslems were alive last September, and able to turn on their Christian fellow-citizens, that the Moslems of Thrace are there to be recruited to-day into the Turkish army, and that in Western Thrace, to say nothing of Jugo-Slavia and Macedonia, the Moslem population is possessed of the fullest civic equality and is persecuted at most by occasional individual tribal expressions of dislike.

After every effort to hear the other side, we must confess ourselves, therefore, as in substantial agreement with the appeal against European aloofness which Mr. Reeves makes in his eloquent "*Christiani ad Leones.*"

History may reverse our judgment—we grant the Khwagah the possibility, but on the evidence of inhumanity we conclude that in a rehabilitated Turkey it would be criminal to leave the Christian *rayah* to the uncontrolled mercy of the Turk. If the counter-indictment against the Greek holds good, it merely leads to the rider that under Greek rule the Moslem must not be left without protection. The Khwagah, indeed, assures us that no extrinsic safeguards for the *rayah* are needed. The Turks are Moslems and as such are bound, by the principles of Islam, not only to tolerate their existence, but to secure them in the full exercise of their Religion, *i.e.*, to grant them a special *régime* in regard to their *statuts personnels*, their laws of marriage, legitimation, inheritance, etc., their education, and charities as by the logic of the case European Empires grant their Moslem subjects (*see* above). If the new Turkey fail in this duty it will be false to Islam and the rest of Islam may be relied on to make it correct its error.

After the Qur'an, he writes (*India in the Balance*, p. 135), "the words of the Prophet are final; *There shall be no interference with their* (*Christian*) *faith, or their observances; nor any change in their rights and privileges.* So runs the charter given by the Prophet to the Christians of the Najiran and its terms are such as to leave no shadow of a right of a Muslim ruler to interfere with the personal

or religious liberty of his non-Muslim subjects. The Turkish Sultan cannot disregard this charter as successor to the Prophet, and I cannot conceive what these much-talked-of Christian minorities can, in reason, demand from the Turks more than the rights and privileges that come within the purview of the charter."

That is plain enough, and it is precisely from the selfsame charter, dictated by the Founder of Islam to his son-in-law and Khalif Ali, stamped with his own hand dipped in ink, still preserved by the monks of Sinai and venerated as a sacrosanct relic by all Moslems that the Metropolitan of Kyzikos draws the argument of his lucid and able book. Every Moslem conqueror, he argues, observed the Prophet's injunction, and put into effect the Sinai "charter" as elucidated by the *ulema* or Moslem Doctors of Law. The several proclamations of the first Khalifs and other rulers necessarily became part of the Shariat, the Sacred Law of Islam. Mahommed the Conqueror exercised no consummate statesmanship (as a *Times* article, following Gibbon and Finlay, solemnly assured us the other day), but only did what was natural and what he was bound to do when he issued his *bérat* to the Patriarch Gennadios Scholarios in 1453. He had no choice but to guarantee the Greeks Christian law, administered by Christians in the whole realm of their *statuts personnels*, their marriages and so forth, freedom to exercise their children in Christian schools and self-administration in regard to their charitable trusts. More, even if he had dreamed otherwise, he would still have been constrained by his own *ulema* to set the Patriarch at the head of the *millet*, the Nation of the conquered Greeks.

Thus, as the Metropolitan proves triumphantly, the special *régime*, under which the Christians of Turkey have lived, and thanks to which, according to Ranke, they have preserved their faith and national consciousness, is nothing but the expression of their "rights and privileges" proclaimed by the Prophet and sealed with his own hand.

The Metropolitan's appeal against the abrogation of the "civil and political" rights of the Patriarchate, *i.e.*, of the Patriarch as head of the Orthodox Millet in conjunction with his Synod and elected lay council, is directed even more to the conscience of Islam on the ground of the Shariat than to the conscience of Europe on the ground of humanity.

Now if—as he undoubtedly believes to be the case—the fine principles which the Khwagah deduces from the Qur'an as the principles of Islam be, indeed, its principles, and if, as he assures us, they have been put in practice in India, they certainly have always been honoured by the Turk in the breach.

Sultan-Khalifs, such as Selim I., may have been prevented from

extirpating the Christian *rayah* and may have been compelled to respect the letter of the Shariat. But Turkish toleration has never meant the concession of liberty and equal manhood to the Christian *rayah*. As the Metropolitan points out that toleration—if it is worthy of the designation—was in principle conditioned : (1) by the payment of a degrading tax ; (2) by the acceptance of a disgusting inferiority. To see how these conditions were applied, one has only to glance through the writings of any Western traveller who, from 1453 to the middle of the 19th century, has described Turkey. We are almost tempted to ask whether the Khwagah has ever read the certificate, granting the right " to wear his head " for a twelve-month, formerly issued to a *rayah* on paying the *kharatch*, or the terms of the permits formerly necessary for the burial of Christians in Turkey? He may not be aware of the fact that a Christian who returned a Moslem's blow or let his shadow fall on a mosque was formerly liable to capital punishment, that no Christian's evidence on any count could formerly be accepted against a Moslem, or that a hundred petty and outrageous restrictions of dress and so forth were formerly placed on Christians. But he must have heard of the famous blood tax by which once in every five years one out of every five little Christian lads under seven years of age was formerly taken from his parents to be brought up as a Moslem by Moslems.

If the Shariat has imposed toleration upon the Turk, the Khwagah must admit that it has not debarred him from oppression.

He may answer, however, that these things are of the past, and that, if such ill-deeds are to be raked up, he can cap them with equal counter-charges of Christian ill-usage of Moslems. We doubt his ability to do so. But, granted for the nonce that he can, he can draw his examples only from the long past story of Spain or of Sicily. The strength of the Metropolitan of Kyzikos' argument is that the Angora Parliament has declared its intention of abolishing even the special *régime* under which the Christian *rayah* lives in Turkey—*i.e.*, " the civil and political " rights of the Patriarchate—and of bringing them under the ordinary *régime* of the land.

What is that law to be? Is it to be conformed to the Shariat or is it not? And if so, is it to be in conformity, not with the Shariat as the Khwagah knows it, but with the Shariat as it exists in Turkey?

If his answers be affirmative, we would point out to him the fact that in the middle of the 18th century, under Mahmoud I., the Sheikh-ul-Islam issued his *fetva* that, if a child of nine repeat the phrase "La illahu il'-allahi wa Mahommedu rasulihi," that child's conversion to Islam is valid and he or she must be taken from his or her parents and be brought up a Moslem by Moslems. As late as 1908, that

fetva was held to be in force as the law of the land[1] by the Turkish State Courts and was acted upon, as witness the celebrated Takrir of the Patriarch Joachim III., addressed to the Sultan in the same year. Will the Khwagah, who claims that the British Empire should safeguard the religious functions of the Caliphate for the sake of the Indian Moslems, deny its duty to safeguard the Christian co-religionists of the people of Great Britain against the recurrence of such an outrage, both to the true Shariat and to common humanity? Or will he join us in protesting against the forcing of Christian children to be educated in Moslem-controlled schools until experience has shown that there will be no danger of a little girl who repeats the formula of conversion being held to have become a Moslem and being taken from her parents to be brought up as such?

Again, the Khwagah assures us that Islamic Law forbids the expropriation of Christian places of worship and that only here and there has a Church been turned into a mosque. Is he aware that St. Sophia was founded in 325 A. D. and was the Mother-Church of Eastern Christendom until 1453, or that of the twenty-two other pre-conquest Churches still standing in Constantinople, twenty-one are now mosques? In each of these cases the *ulema* found reason for declaring the confiscation to be in accordance with the Shariat. Or will he point out a single city in Turkey in which the Turks have not violated this Islamic principle?

If he protests, that to speak of these things is to rake up the ashes of dead history, we will accept his demur for the present purpose. But, what for example, has he to say about the Churches which Dr. Lepsius records as being turned into mosques in 1915? Will the Khwagah take prompt steps for their restoration? And what, if it is refused, does he propose to do to secure it? And how will he prevent the recurrence of such a crime?

There are many other points on which we think it easy to show that the Shariat as it obtains among the Turks is very different from the noble system outlined by the Khwagah. But we have space to deal with one more only. He writes (*India*, p. 136) "As to the change of religion and its penalty under a Moslem rule, there need be no misgiving. *In Islam there is no penalty for Apostasy.*" That is categoric, and he not only repeats the assurance in his second book, but gives an Appendix to prove it. And yet, if Turkey be the Central Islamic Empire, he is wrong on the Turk's own confession. If he will read the *Foreign Office Eastern Papers*, 1854-56, Vol. ii, p. 226 *et seq.*, he will find that, Moslem converts to Christianity having been beheaded after trial at Adrianople and Aleppo, Lord Stratford de Redcliffe, the British Ambassador, took up the matter. Those were the days of the Crimean War, when Turkey was putting her house

[1] *i.e.* as part of the Shariat.

in order under the advice of her British protector. The famous Hatti Sherif which guaranteed afresh and defined the rights of the *rayah* to their special *régime* was in the preparing. Lord Stratford, who was no nidderling, pressed with all his forceful influence for the insertion of a clause that in future there should be no "effusion of blood" on apostasy from Islam. The Porte answered that it was "*impossible for the Sultan to abrogate Mussulman Law or make any public declaration equivalent to its abolition.*" Abd-ul-Mejdid, the Sultan-Khalif of the day, was keenly desirous of doing all he could; Mehemet Fuad, the Grand Vizier, pledged the Porte that no execution of the kind should take place. The most, though, that could be done was to insert an ambiguous clause in the Hatti Sherif, "aucun sujet de mon Empire ne sera gêné dans l'exercice de la religion qu'il professe et ne sera d'aucune manière inquiet à cet égard. Personne ne pourra être contrainte à changer de religion."

In the face of that record, can the Khwagah deny that the Shariat, as interpreted in the Khalif's own Central Empire in 1854, imposed death as the penalty of apostasy? Can he tell us when it was revised in favour of the interpretation which he himself holds? Can he name a town or village in Turkey where Christians are allowed to preach to Moslems or where a single Christian convert from Islam lives in security? And does he dispute the statement that very many thousands of Christian women and girls, to say nothing of men, have accepted Islam in Asia Minor in the past eight years to escape deportation or massacre, and that, if they dared, they would at once renounce it?

And lastly, if the Khwagah cannot answer these questions in the negative, will he not rouse his fellow-Indian Moslems to repudiate the Turks until they guarantee, with no equivocation and, in plain words, full freedom to everyone of their subjects to change his religion.

If all this be so, can the Khwagah bring himself to blame the Christians of Turkey for being ready to respond to the French and British proclamations, calling on them to be "instruments" in defeating these Turkish tyrants, for desiring to win their own freedom in that country which is their own and in which, until Kemal gleaned the red harvest, they formed the majority, or for welcoming the Union Jack and the Tricolore to their mother-city in 1918?

But, if he blames them for these things, will he maintain that their extermination is the proper penalty of their "ingratitude" to those whose religious law forbade even their oppression?

Why, the Turks themselves would not defend it, if it were not that *their* Shariat justifies the smiting hip and thigh, man and woman, ancient and babe, those against whom Islam wages a Jehad, a Sacred War—a defence which was openly urged 25 years ago for the

butchery of Armenians, and an incentive which was openly advanced in Constantinople during the war for that final extirpation of the *rayah* now so near its completion.

Does the Khwagah repudiate *that* interpretation of the Shariat?

There is much more we could wish to say, but we will close this article by submitting the appended Questionnaire to the Khwagah?

If he will answer each of the questions "yes or no," we will gladly print his replies in our next issue.

QUESTIONNAIRE.

1. Does the Khwagah deny that the Shariat must form the basis of the law of a Moslem State? And that the State Courts of Moslem lands must decide every case according to it?

2. Will the Indian Moslems insist that the Turks shall proclaim the right of a Moslem to apostasise from Islam and that they shall guarantee that such apostasy receive no punishment?

3. Will they insist that Christians shall be free in Turkey to evangelise Moslems?

4. Will they insist that Turkish Law shall prohibit the conversion to Islam of a minor? And, on a Christian child's becoming a Moslem, shall prohibit its being taken from its parents?

5. Will they insist that a Moslem woman shall be free to marry a non-Moslem?

6. Will they insist that in Turkey non-Moslems shall have their own schools?

7. Will they insist that in Turkey non-Moslems shall have their own law-courts?

In our judgment it has always been a pity that the Allies did not offer plainly to appoint an Indian Moslem as a colleague with Europeans to devise and apply effective safeguards for the "civil and political" rights of the *rayah*. We are confident that the Khwagah will give us a reply which will increase that regret illimitably.

JOHN A. DOUGLAS.

JUSTICE FOR GREECE.

BY J. C. THOMSON.

TO ANY Englishman who has followed at all closely the tragedy of the Greek venture in Asia Minor it is rather painful to note the indifference of Great Britain to the disasters that have fallen upon that devoted country, and the callous manner in which the blame is thrown exclusively upon the Greeks, with never a suggestion made, nor share of responsibility acknowledged for British complicity before, during, and after the event. It would be vain at this time to endeavour to unravel the tangled threads of policy,

of personal ambitions or the blunders of individual Statesmen, but perhaps it may be permitted to attempt to give expression the views and feelings of the simple people of Greece.

Let us leave untouched, as far as possible, the Venizelos Gounaris controversy, the Kemalist National Pact and the Greek Μεγαλὴ Ἰδέα and concern ourselves rather with the influences upon the people of these policies and of divided Entente pressure in this direction or that.

Begin with the little nation which, a hundred years ago, with Anglo-French support, threw off the strangling and degrading yoke of Turkish rule over a small area of territory occupied by people of their race and religion. Watch its quick recovery from barbarism and its rapid strides in all developments of civilisation, till (as in the case of Bulgaria of a later date) the artificial boundary between their land and Turkey was the dividing line between peace, progress and ever growing economic wealth, and the poverty and chaos still synonimous with Turkish rule. Was it not Lord Elgin who, apostrophizing Athens of his day, exclaimed, "Call that cluster of mud huts Athens!" Well, he would hardly call the beautiful city of to-day, a "cluster of mud huts," and the change is symbolical of the progress of Greece. Her people are capable of development no less, in any feature, than the highest Western culture, though the proportion of highly-educated individuals is not as great as the average in Western countries. This fact must be kept steadily in mind, for in all countries governed by popular vote it is the average unit of education that ultimately decides issues. If England of a thousand years of free development would review, with mind unbiased by catch phrases of past decades, the progress and growth of Greece, the conclusion would inevitably be reached that the people who have attained so much in Science, Literature, Medicine, Finance and Economic growth must possess the highest qualities of civilization and that all that is necessary to ensure further advancement is to encourage the development amongst the people, in a greater proportion, of the qualities already proved to exist.

This is the spirit of modern Greece. It is this they are struggling to attain. The means that they have found ready to hand, though perhaps not the wisest, is National expansion, the inclusion with the Mother land of all Greeks wherever circumstances permit.

As an aid to this end they have developed, again, perhaps, not quite wisely, the Nationalization of their Church. Orthodoxy stands for Hellenism as the Roman Catholic Church stands, in the Levant for French or, quite recently, for Franco-Italian culture and policy. This fact is of primary importance to-day where the very basis and existence of the Orthodox Church is threatened by more

than merely Turkish ambitions. Finally, before merging all these considerations into a national character, typical of the average Greek, the composition of what goes to make their nation, must be reviewed. There are inhabitants of "Old" Greece living on the main land of Greece proper, who have been freed from the yoke about a hundred years ago. North of that lies Epirus, which though predominantly Greek cannot yet be said to have experienced freedom. East of that is Macedonia, which, though largely Greek, has been the battlefield for centuries of Bulgar, Serb, Greek and Turkish struggles for supremacy. Yet further East lies Thrace, arbitrarily divided into Western and Eastern Thrace, where Greeks are numerous but no longer dominant in numbers. Constantinople should be considered apart, as it is essentially cosmopolitan and commercial, concerning itself much more with trade than nationalism of any sort whatsoever, not even excepting the brand new, firey, Turkish Nationalism. Not for nothing did Voltaire end the career of Candide on the shores of the Bosphorus, where even he learnt wisdom and closed futile discussion with the remark "cultivons nos jardins." But we can pass through there to Asia Minor where the Greek, before the War, was numerous and prosperous, along the shores of the Black Sea, the Marmora and the Levant, notably in Smyrna, and Southwards to Egypt. All these Anatolian Greeks leant towards the Home Land. They found themselves less persecuted than their Armenian neighbours simply because there was a Home Land Greece, free and able to raise its voice in the Councils of Europe, to restrain Turkish violence. This Nationalist factor, coupled with the Orthodox Faith formed the bond of union, rather than racial sympathy and community of thought, between the scattered Greek colonies and Greece proper. Then last, but not least, the Islanders of the Aegean, simple loyal folk these Islanders if we except Crete and Mitylene which, thanks to the former dominant Turkish element, could not remain either simple or loyal and yet continue to exist. The whole forms a scattered nation, a liberty-loving progressive people, unruly perhaps, grasping in money matters, but greedy for education, though from sheer poverty too often content with superficial instruction. Yet they have advanced and are still capable of advancing. In the first Balkan War they taught the Turk terrible things, in the second, Bulgaria was forced to make terms. Do not let us go too deeply into the why and wherefore of these successes. Much can be said to account for these victories apart from military valour and ability. Our experts may debate the matter at length, but the Greek people realised only the fact of victory, and with that realisation their national confidence, or, if you will, conceit, increased. Thus the average Greek is normally over-confident, rather wildly ambitious and

lacking a proper sense of proportion. He is clever, in a rather superficial way, but he is whole-heartedly a loyal nationalist. Such a man could hardly be expected to connect the assassination of his wise and beloved King George, and that of the Grand Duke Ferdinand, of Austria, with the outbreak of the Great War. Nor could he realise (though certain of his Statesmen did) that the accession of Constantine, the Germanophile, was one of the links in the Kaiser's chain forged from an assassin's dagger. He could not quite realise that, though Venizelos continued in office after the death of King George, he was no longer free to carry out his wise policy of a friendly peace with Bulgaria, giving the latter a fair access to the Agean. Still less could he understand, in the early days of the Great War, why Venizelos wished him to fight for the Entente while the new King Constantine held by Germany. He was tired of fighting anyway, and wanted to keep out of it. But was he left to follow his wishes ? By no means. Pressure was incessant, ubiquitous, cunning and secret. Let us not trouble to examine who was primarily to blame ; German agents for forcing the hands of the King, or the Entente, for half driving, half leading Venizelos. The typical Greek we are considering was conscious only of the effects produced and little concerned in the causes that produced them. He, and thousands of his fellows, welcomed the British refugees from Constantinople in November 1914 with warm sympathy. Instinctively his heart went out to all who had suffered at the hands of the Turk. His sentiments were entirely with the Entente when the Dardanelles campaign was first proposed. Though adverse to participation in the War he would not have resented a call to arms as Britain's declared ally and to fight his old enemy the Turk, notably, if this were to be a means to the great end of liberating the Greeks still under Turkish rule in Eastern Thrace, Constantinople, Smyrna and Anatolia generally. He was far from keen, however, having seen enough of War. He was definitely adverse to ranging himself actively on the side of Germany and Turkey. He rather admired Constantine's trimming and balancing between the two great forces which alternately threatened and cajoled. Bulgaria's entry into the War very greatly strengthened his repugnance against the central European alliance and it can safely be said that the surrender by Constantine of the Roupel forts, lost that sovereign the sympathy of his people more than any single step he took. That act made it possible for the Entente propagandists to provoke the partial revolution of 1916. True it was very far from being a spontaneous movement of the people. The leaders, no doubt, were genuinely revolutionary ; Venizelos and the officers of the Salonika Army and others, saw in the surrender of Roupel a definite, and what they believed to be a fatal, act placing their country on the

side of Germany. They were fully awake to and wholeheartedly against the menace of a continuous German belt, from the North Sea to the Persian Gulf. They foresaw the inevitable absorption or Germanization of the lesser nations lying in or near the belt. But the mass of the people, the typical Greek, whose views it is desired to express, perhaps could not, certainly did not, allow himself to be swayed by such considerations. He remained strongly adverse to participation in the War. Those whose duty it was to encourage the revolution can easily relate the difficulties they experienced. Captain Compton McKenzie, R.M. (as he then was) as brilliant a talker as he is a writer, used to keep his mess table in roars of laughter with his talks of getting various Islands " voluntarily " to join the revolution. Bluff, was enough in many cases, the funniest ones, and the offer of supplies of foodstuffs or threatened starvation served in others. The paralysation by sea-patrol of all inter-communication with the Mother Land and the seizure of telegraph cables aided much. By such means the revolution was kept alive till the issue of the War became more clear and Constantine was starved out of Athens. But for us, who wish to judge fairly the Greeks of to-day, it is essential to remember clearly and definitely that we " wangled " the revolution and that all the methods resorted to were not precisely dignified nor even honourable. However, during the bitter life or death struggle of that great contest, practical men, who had to win peace for their own country, could not afford to be too ethically scrupulous and conscientious as to means ; evil that good may result was not always shunned.

If Entente egoistic influences had ceased with the collapse of Germany and Turkey and if Greece had been left free to follow her own destiny thereafter, no criticism would be levelled to-day at Great Britain, France or Italy, by the average Greek, and past intervention would have been forgiven and forgotten. Unfortunately for Greece, however, the solidity of the bonds of the Entente soon began to weaken and give place to a conflict of interests. The aims of France and Italy in the Near East ceased to be identical with those of Great Britain except in one feature : All three were tired of War and all three sought to throw as much burden as possible upon the comparatively untired Greek army and thus be free to demobilize their own forces the sooner. Properly to analyse the conflicting advice given to Greece or to trace the effects produced by varying influences would require a treatise in itself and all that can be attempted here is again to confine post-armistice Near Eastern politics within the horizon of the average Greek citizen. He had learned in Salonika and in the Islands, wherever he encountered British and French forces together, to prefer the former to the latter.

"Cupboard love" aided the English greatly in this. Our people spent more money and spent it freely with less bargaining. Our control of Government stores suited the Greeks admirably; boat loads of stuff were shipped away till there was hardly a Greek outside of Old Greece who did not wear some article of British Army supply and the few exceptions enjoyed sugar, tea, bread, etc., etc., at much less than it ever cost the British public. Apart from this the attitude of our officers and men was always more sympathetic and their personal honesty and strictness on all points of honour led to the belief that as a nation the British might also be trusted not "to let a friend down." This sentiment grew steadily with the association of the Greek revolutionary army in Salonika with our forces there. It was fostered in high political circles by tacitly conveying the impression that Great Britain desired a close understanding with Greece, which produces a race of natural sailors, as an Eastern Mediterranean naval ally. The advantages to both parties of such a policy is so obvious that the tacit understanding was taken to be a cloak to a regular agreement. This belief in a secret agreement between Great Britain and Greece appeared confirmed by the frequent employment of Greek Forces to carry out the British post-armistice programme. Greek Forces advanced with ours into Macedonia and both Western and Eastern Thrace. We pushed them into the South of Russia against the Bolshevists, which was certainly no concern of theirs, but where they suffered heavy losses. We had an army of them actually embarked for a venture in the Pontus. This project was not carried out, but the mere fact of its having been contemplated led, at a later date, to the massacres and expulsions of Christians not only from the Pontus proper but from the whole of the Turkish coast of the Black Sea. The Greek fleet was employed in the Black Sea to quell a mutiny in the French navy and had even to fire upon the mutineers. Discipline in the Entente Forces was at a low ebb in the days following the Armistice and the demobolisation of "temporaries" became imperative. Recourse was had to Greek forces to maintain order over wide areas. The price Greece asked for these services was Smyrna, with a tenable frontier, hence, it is to be supposed, the Smyrna landing of 1919. It is needless to say here that the Greek occupation of Smyrna was pre-doomed to failure because the average Greek, like others for whom there is less excuse, would not listen to reason nor believe their expert advisers. "*Quem deus vult perdere prius dementat.*" Those conversant with the situation in Turkey and competent to judge knew and loudly proclaimed that the Greek landing furnished the Turkish "Die-hards" with the one and only enemy certain to unite disheartened (but not defeated) Turkey and bring the manhood of Mahommedan Anatolia back to

the army. There is infinitely more excuse for the average Greek than for the Entente for he was simply demanding his well earned pay whereas the allies far from making good their promised reward, almost immediately assumed, in varying degrees, either a distinctly anti-Greek or a mildly pro-Turkish attitude. Italy was openly hostile and despite official denials continued to permit the supply of arms to the Turkish Nationalists. There is some excuse for Italy as she received no assistance from Greece and they have an open quarrel still unsettled between them regarding the future of the Dodecanese. France also ranged herself morally on the side of Turkey and later, to escape from her difficulties in Cilicia, went further than Italy, and made a Treaty with the enemy of the Entente, surrendered quantities of guns, supplied a number of the most modern types of aeroplanes and whenever and wherever possible threw her influence against Greece not *qua* Greece, but as Britain's future ally. These developments rendered the Greek position in Anatolia, first precarious, and later impossible. But the optimistic average Greek clung the closer to his one remaining friend, Great Britain, the nation whose officers and men had so impressed him by their honourableness, frank dealing and loyalty to a friend especially to one in trouble. Surely and surely Great Britain would not go back on even the most tacit pledges. But Britain was given such good excuses to shift the burden of obligation that politicians could not resist the temptation, especially as the price of honour was so exorbitant. Fate played its hand so fortunately. For instance the average Greek would insist on re-instating King Constantine who had only vacated the throne under foreign pressure. Britain seized this first excuse. "Oh, of course, if you have Constantine back, we can do nothing for you," was our attitude. Why? no one asks. He was only a menace while the Kaiser ruled. But any pretext was good enough to cover the folly of having put the Greeks into Smyrna. Then the inevitable disaster loomed closer and closer. One sole chance of saving something from the smash was to seize Constantinople before sustaining military defeat in Anatolia and hold it as a pledge for fair treatment. But that attempt touched the military honour of a gentleman instead of the political honour of a statesman, and much to the surprise of the average Greek, British guns galloped to the Tchataldja lines and wheeled to "action front." So that last hope faded away and with its fading the "debacle" in Anatolia became merely a question of days. The rest is too painful and too recent to bear or require description. Christendom will suffer from the blow for a generation to come and not all the cunning of Europe or America, nor even the goodwill of Angora, can do more than mitigate the evil that is still to come. In the meantime the average Greek does

what he can to put himself right with the Entente. May others judge if he were ever truly in the wrong. He definitely dethroned Constantine and has hastened to comply in all things with the requirements of the Allies. Smyrna, Western Anatolia and Eastern Thrace have all been surrendered. A million or so of Greeks are consequently rendered homeless and drift to the Mother Country. Others, less fortunate, are exterminated or go in bonds of absolute, good old-fashioned Turkish slavery under the euphonious title of Reparation Labour Corps. Thousands, many thousands, starve, and national bankruptcy is imminent. But it is hoped that these sacrifices will win the good will of the Allies. More could hardly be asked of Greece, and in fact there was a change for the better. Venizelos was well received and invited to Lausanne but inter-allied jealousies, suspicions and ambitions are not yet at rest. France and Italy still ask whether England may not perhaps have future hope of Greek naval support in the Eastern Mediterranean. Not so long ago, but before becoming a responsible minister, Mr. Mussolini declared that Italy's policy should be to " weaken England wherever possible." France has not been so outspoken, but her Near East policy and propoganda would almost appear to be guided by the same spirit. The Vatican sees an opportunity to end for ever the conflict between the Great Orthodox Church of the East and the greater Roman Church of the West, not by agreement, for that appears impossible but by the disappearance of her rival. Eliminate the Greek Patriarchate of Constantinople, and Rome will stand unquestionably supreme. Poor Greece, even in this extremity she had to give her " friends " an excuse to desert her. She had the consummate folly to put to death six men. True, they were men whom we considered during the war just as dangerous as Germans and we had to spend huge sums on the upkeep of an organization specially to counter-spy on their activities. They were men who not merely countenanced but actively prepared the rising in Athens against the Entente and the Venizelists in 1916, and were parties to that treacherous outbreak and therefore were responsible for the loss of British, French and Greek lives, many under barbarous circumstances.

But another excuse seemed required by the Allies to cloak further avoidance of their just obligation and this pretext had to suffice, so a signal was given to the allied Press, minister quitted Athens and Greece was held up to the contumely of the civilized world. If we had wanted an excuse on the other side, how glibly would we have spoken of the righteous indignation of a deceived people and the just punishment of the offenders ! Poor Greece ! and with all this, has the Entente been wise in its avoidance of its duty ? Is peace with Turkey likely to lead to a general peace, or is it simply a

prelude to a more extensive movement of an anti-Christian character? There is another belt besides William's dream of North Sea to Persian Gulf domination; there is Maroco Algiers, Tunis, Tripoli, Egypt, Arabia, Turkey, Baluchistan, Afghanistan India on the one side with anti-Christian Russia in the north while discontented Hungary and Germany await developments in the very heart of Europe and *we have allowed these forces to unite across the Bosphorus.*

CHRONICLE AND CAUSERIE.

CHRONICLE AND CAUSERIE.—The reduction in our subscription will be welcome evidence to our friends that the Christian East is in smoother financial waters than it has been since its circulation collapsed at the end of its first year, 1920. It is true that neither editors nor contributors will receive—or desire to receive—any remuneration in 1923. None the less, thanks to increased support, we should pay our way. Indeed, if our circulation continues to rise, we may change into a bimonthly without increasing our annual *abonnement*. There is so much interesting matter that we have to leave out that in spite of the increased labour we would gladly buckle to the job.

Thus, this month alone we should simply have loved to print translations from the Athens *Treis Hierarchai* of the Metropolitan of Ephesus' report to the Patriarchate on the Holocaust of Smyrna, from *Nea Zion* of the celebrations which signalised the 25th anniversary of the Patriarch Damianos' Enthronement, and from other Eastern Orthodox periodicals such as *Glaznik*, *Pantaenos*, *Ekklesiastike Alitheia*, &c.,—in fact, a tit-bit from each of those in the list with which we exchange. All are good reading and informative. We could easily fill a monthly twice our present size. Again the difficulty is to settle what to reproduce out of the many interesting photos we get.

We offer the Patriarch of Jerusalem our sincere felicitation on the happy event to which we have referred incidentally. Very much has happened in his long Patriarchate, and as the readers of our pages must know, the Patriarch has had ample trouble in the past few years. Everyone will echo the wish expressed by the British Governor of Jerusalem when, in investing him with the Order of Knight Commander of the British Empire he prayed that the Patriarch might have many years of health and happiness in which to wear it. The Patriarch Damianos is well past Moses' four-score, but he is full of vigour and energy. God give him long years to guide his flock and to work for Reunion!

The November, 1922, number of *Nea Zion*, which contains the account of the Patriarch Damianos' Jubilee, contains also valuable articles on the Churches of Serbia and Roumania by the Archimandrite Papadopoulos, and on John Morzanes, a 16th-century worthy, by Prof. Dyobouniotes. *Nea Zion* is always readable and worth reading.

The same may justly be said of the American *Living Church*, which is always well informed on Eastern Church matters. Thus, its issue for January 6th contains, under the title of "The Attitude of Western Evangelicalism towards the Russian Church," the report of Dr. J. Sheridan Zelie, recently sent as a delegate to Russia by the Armenian Federal Council of Churches. "I plead openly for a continuation of

the policy," he says, "which insists . . . that a constant, open, brotherly and helpful testimony and attitude be offered to all that is best in the Russian Church. Its overthrow and destruction is resolved upon . . . because it unmistakingly contains within itself the great mass of what religion there is in Russia." No one who has read the pathetically horrible accounts of the Christmas blasphemies organised by the Soviet Governments in Moscow, Petrograd and elsewhere, of the orgies of boys and girls conducted under the tutelage of Trotsky's Chinese bodyguard, of the burning of effigies of Jehovah, Buddha and Mahommed, can doubt that Dr. Zelie is right.

It is with peculiar satisfaction that we give further from what he has to say. "Rome stands more than ready to take and absorb this Catholicism which looks Westward for help. But it dreads the Roman terms and it prizes everything it can hear of interest and sympathy from the freer Churches of the West. The Federal Council (*sc.*, of Churches) should make great account of the efforts and negotiations now carried on for scores of years between the Anglican Communion and the Russian, looking towards terms of union or recognition. Doubtless the attempt would have eventuated before this in an intercommunion between these two great Churches, had it not been that the Russian Church has been rendered incapable of united official action. Had it come to pass, it would have been an advantage to the whole Christianity to which we belong. There can be no question about this or that Communion profiting by such a move. We have come to a position where we ought to be perfectly willing for some one to profit by it. A close union between the Russian Church and the Anglican, and freedom and communication between them, would to-day be almost the best thing that could happen to the Russian Church. If the freer time comes, it would seem to be a thing which all of us might rejoice in, that the Russian Church should have the benefit of the counsel and interchange and fellowship of the great body which it can perhaps better understand than any other. The Mission which you gave me was so richly and unexpectedly felicitated by the Archbishop of Canterbury . . . that it becomes us to acknowledge as cordially the long and patient negotiations which he and his Communion have carried forward these many years towards the assistance of this Eastern Communion." That is a wise, statesmanlike and, withal, charitable pronouncement. Its vision and policy are those with which we have tried to make the Christian East instinct. *Mutatis mutandis* it applies to our own Communion. Let those who have special affinities cultivate them for the common good. Let all work and pray for General Reunion. Where the centripetal spirit is strong, the drawing together of Anglican and Orthodox, or of Anglicans and Freechurchmen, must be a matter of rejoicing for every Christian. The apprehension of that truth is, we believe, the one thing needful to-day for real progress in the common cause.

We have received a courteous remonstrance from M. Michel d'Herbigny in reference to what Mr. Douglas wrote of his book *L'Anglicanisme et l'Orthodoxie*, in our last issue, and especially to the inference that he did not write from first-hand knowledge of the Anglican Church. Space compels us to postpone a detailed review of his book, but we will give one or two of the reasons for the judgment. Thus, no one with knowledge of the A.E.C.A.—let alone of the E.C.C.—could have jumped to the conclusion that, because our loyal and much valued fellow-

worker, the Rev. H. J. Fynes-Clinton, who has laboured long, finely and successfully as Secretary of both bodies, has also been a leader in the Catholic League and its Sodalitas of priests, the former are in any way connected with the latter. In fact, except Mr. Fynes-Clinton, of the members of A.E.C.A. and E.C.U., no one is a member of the Catholic League, and those whom we have been able to ask have declared that they were ignorant of its constitution and of the existence of the Sodalitas. The pages, therefore, which M. d'Herbigny devotes to an identification of the two movements as bilateral, were written under a misapprehension and give a very erroneous impression of what is happening in the Church of England. Moreover, while we say nothing of their unfairness to Bishop Gore, Bishop Gibson, the Bishop of Gloucester, Mr. Birkbeck, Mr. Riley, Fr. Puller, and others who have been leaders in building up the Anglican-Orthodox *entente*, we are bound to dismiss them as most unfair to Mr. Fynes-Clinton, who is a chivalrous and honourable gentleman, and has in no way used his secretarial office to commit his colleagues to the programme of the Catholic League.

Apart, however, from that colossal mistake, there are many proofs in M. d'Herbigny's book that he does not write from first-hand knowledge of the Anglican Churches. We take a few at haphazard in *Sortes Virgilianæ* fashion. On page 84 he tells his readers that in 1920 "la désignation du futur patriarche de Constantinople fut agréée à Londres." The fact is that the choice of Meletios IV. came to us as a complete surprise. We had not even thought of its possibility until the election had begun in December, 1921. Again, after asserting that the Anglican and Orthodox authorities were planning an 8th Œcumenical Council to be held in St. Sophia in 1921, he says of the Anglican Church, page 72: "Pour augmenter sa représentation au concile projeté, elle ajoutait à ses quatre provinces ecclésiastiques de vieille date (Canterbury, York, Armagh et Dublin) six autres provinces organisées, avec de nombreux suffragants et auxiliaires . . . . . Ainsi pourrait-elle montrer à ses visitants grecs, slaves ou arméniens, plus de trois cents Bishops, réunis au congrès et capables d'attirer à eux la majorité dans le futur concile de Constantinople." Why, *Crockford* would have told him that the Scotch, the American and the rest of the Anglican Churches (except the Welsh) were autocephalous, some a century and others a score of years before the dates with which he was dealing. But to pass over that blunder, anyone with a nodding acquaintance with English life must cachinnate at the idea of the South African Church having been created in 1920 in order to provide votes to dominate an Œcumenical Council in 1921. What, then, is the unpleasant alternative to our hypothesis (to which we cling), that M. d'Herbigny wrote his book on second-hand information?

There is another matter on which, with some diffidence, we venture to remonstrate with M. d'Herbigny. He choses each chapter of his book and, indeed, interlaces each chapter in it, with prayer for unity. That would be very good if it were not that in each of his prayers is couched a *petitio principii*. *Lex orandi*, it is true, is *lex credendi*. But is it helpful to pray at those who differ from you? When M. d'Herbigny rounds off his prayer to the effect that he hopes for the speedy submission of the Anglican and the Orthodox to the Papacy, we cannot help wondering whether he would not have been kinder in phrasing his prayer so that we should not have to say, Forfend, but might say, Amen, to it. What would he think of a book written by an Anglican

on Rome and Utrecht which sustained arguments against Protestantism by prayers that the Papacy might return to the One, True Mother, might cease to wither, might cease to be the centre of schism and the fountain of "Rationalist Error"—in short, might repent of its perversity and come home? Praying at intelligent and honest differences of opinion is the way to increase division. We can make no sharper comment than to say that M. d'Herbigny reminds us of the two priests of Claypole.

Dr. Headlam has accepted a vice-presidency of the A.E.C.A. Many of us were present at his consecration on 25th January, St. Paul's Day, in the Abbey, and prayed that his episcopate might be long and very fruitful to his Gloucester diocese, to the Anglican Communion and to the whole Church.

A Berlin dispatch to the *Daily Telegraph* on 24th January, spoke in large and vague terms of the Vatican's hope of winning the Patriarch Tikhon and the Russian Church to become Uniate. Great activity has recently been developed, it is true, by Mgr. Szeptycki, the chief Uniate Bishop of Galicia, who appears to have adopted the style of Patriarch of Russia—we are not sure whether with authority from Rome or, since Galicia in old parlance was known as Russia, as a *jeu de mot*. But, unless we are misinformed, the only consequence of the approach to the Russian Patriarch has been that the suspicion of the Soviet Government, sensitive above all things in its fear of the Russian Church, has retaliated by harassing the Pope's subjects of the Latin Rite in Russia and threatens them with repression. As practically all Latins that there are in Russia are Poles, the reaction is bitter discontent in Poland with the Vatican, which is held to be sacrificing the Latins of Russia to a hopeless attempt at creating a Rome-ward section in the Church of Russia. We are informed that so deep is this resentment that a considerable section of Polish Roman Catholics, headed by two bishops, is threatening a *Los von Rom* of the Czecho-Slovakian type, and the setting up of a non-papal Church in Poland. The Vatican seems unable to learn that it is dangerous to use national interests as pawns in ecclesiastical diplomacy.

We understand that Theokletos, Metropolitan of Athens, has resigned his throne on the ground of advanced years and ill-health. Among those from whom his successor is likely to be chosen are the distinguished theologians, the Archimandrites Chrysostom Papadopoulos of the Athens Theological Seminary and Charevangelis of Janina. Both are phil-Anglicans. The former was in London with Meletios IV. in 1920.

The Living Church states that, in response to a memorial from Bishop Pavlik, of the Czecho-Slovakian Church, who is now in U.S.A., the National Council of the American Church has given this assurance "We will communicate with our bishops in the various dioceses in which communicants of the Czecho-Slovak Orthodox Church live and urge them to provide the Sacraments and pastoral care for them in such places where it may be either difficult or impossible to secure a priest of the Czecho-Slovak Orthodox Church. And also we will advise the bishops in the various dioceses to give fraternal co-operation and moral support to the parishes of the Czecho-Slovak Orthodox Church which may be established in America. Moreover, we express our desire that the Czecho-Slovak Orthodox Church minister in like manner to communicants of our Church visiting or residing in the Republic of Czecho-Slovakia." There are one or two points in the Council's letter

which are obscure—*e.g.*, as to whether these arrangements have been notified to the other Orthodox Churches, whether Czecho-Slovaks are to resort to Anglican ministrations in towns where there are Greek, Jugo-Slav, Russian and other Orthodox priests, and so forth. We hope to obtain information on these matters. Meanwhile, we rejoice at what appears to be a very important advance towards regularising and developing the relations of the Churches in America.

The Bishop in Jerusalem stayed some time during January in London on his way back from an American preaching tour, the results of which are in every way satisfactory, and during which he was able to study the question of *economic* Intercommunion in the places where its regularisation is most needed. Incidentally, and illustrative of the contrast between the spirit of the Arab and Indian Moslem and the Turkish Moslem, we may note that no trouble was caused in Palestine by the Bishop's public Baptism in St. George's Cathedral of a Moslem youth last June.

The Bishop of Gibraltar paid a flying visit to London from January 17th to 27th, during which he preached a remarkable sermon in St. Paul's Cathedral and told a fine meeting in Sion College about his recent visits to Constantinople, Sofia, Bukharest and Belgrad. Excellent reports of both appeared in the *Church Times* of 26th January and 2nd February, and are well worth keeping for reference. Every letter we receive from the Near East, from British folks as well as from Eastern Orthodox, speaks in glowing terms of the impression created by his Lordship.

All the world in Athens—official and unofficial, British and Greek—is eloquent in praise of Dr. Wigram and his work among the refugees. We heard a good tale the other day of how, when an Anatolian *rayah* blasphemed the camp authorities in Turkish, he was tongue-tied and eye-opened at being seized by the scruff of the neck and gently flicked with a rattan while a voice *in Turkish* bade him never again upbraid his benefactors! His chastener was Dr. Wigram.

Mind you, Dr. Wigram has a cat-like proclivity of tumbling with safety and distinction into whatever spot offers danger and work to an English priest. For many years he laboured in the difficult sphere of Mosul and the Archbishop's Assyrian Mission. Then the War caught him in Constantinople and he went through 1914–18 on the Turkish side of the barbed wire. Now his genius has located him at the British Legation in Athens, just when and where a man of his experience and swift, strong decision is needed.

His letters are always human documents. He has a humorous knack of making you see great things with a flash of his sly pen. Here are a few extracts from a secret letter to one of our editors who risks his wrath in printing them. "An additional complication has been added to the position by the presence of the Assyrians in Poros Island." I have had specially to do with them, for the very good reason I am the only person in Athens who can talk their lingo. They, being wild men who could not conceive that a forest on a hillside could belong to anybody, and, moreover, trained to obey no law and to look on every policeman as their natural enemy, were causing trouble on the Isle. They *would* cut down the Government trees and sell the fuel to by no means unwilling Greeks in the town of the Island. I went over and talked to them for their good, pointing out that both they and I were guests of the Greeks, and telling them that I was their father and mother and godfather (they had given me those titles, assuring me they had no hope save in

the Almighty and *me* !) and telling them they must not break my name by breaking the Government trees and selling them to the town. They promised to be good boys and they are being so, more or less ; that is, they have not given up cutting the trees, but they sell them on the other side of the Island. The police have been instructed to interfere, but they are shy of doing so, having a not-unanswerable fear that they may be kicked by my Assyrians. Meantime the Assyrians are rather nervous. They have been lodged in a monastery and assure me the Church shakes when they say their prayers in it—because they have been guilty of bringing their women into a holy place where women ought not to be, and after *that* what can they expect? I could only assure them officially that, as they credited me with intimacy with the Most High, they must accept my word that He would not punish them for *that*, at any rate."

Again, in speaking of the scanty resources available to feed the refugees at Patras—that scantiness ought to weigh heavily on the conscience of well-fed Britons—he writes, "Cadbury's have given five tons of cocoa. They calculated how many hundred thousand bowls they could give out. I forget the figures. There is, as usual, the difficulty of getting these people to eat unaccustomed food. . . . The oriental will often go hungry rather than do so. I have seen many bowls of good ration poured away at Stringos because its flavour was unfamiliar. However, the stuff is a standby and when folks are really starving they will eat anything." Can't you see that camp, and can't you appreciate the cool wisdom of the writer?

Or again, "At Poros, T—— told his troubles. 'The old dame,' he said, 'came to me crying for a blanket, but, as she had sixteen petticoats on, I told her she could do without one.' 'How did you know?' 'I counted them,' T—— unblushingly replied." The humour and the *picture* are perfect. We see the camp and the people—and Dr. Wigram working in it.

Talking of the Refugees, we cannot fail to urge our readers one and all to give the help for which the Archbishop of Canterbury has called. Every congregation should send a donation. The need is piteous. The duty is pressing. If there are Refugees in Greece who are near starving, is Great Britain or America blameless?

This is culled from *Anaplasis*, an Athens periodical of distinction edited by the Archimandrite Papadopoulos of whom we spoke above. "The Turk's fury of persecution is not confined to living objects, but includes lifeless objects. Christian Churches must not stand or they would recall the memory of Christian worship. A poem introduced at the beginning of the Great War into the curriculum of the Turkish schools inculcates the duty of the Turks to see to it that Christian campaniles give place to minarets and that the call of the bells is drowned by the mollah's maezzin. . . . There is no danger of false statement in saying that Christian Churches no longer exist in Asia Minor. The Armenian, Anglican and Papalist Churches have met the same fate as the Orthodox. . . . The work of destruction has been thus: First, everything of value is plundered—the eikons and other sacred things are defiled unutterably. The Reserved Sacrament of the Lord's Body is thrown into the street and trampled down. Then in the night the ravishers drag their prey of Christian women and girls into them. . . . Finally, to obliterate the crimes committed, they are set on fire!" Will the Indian Moslems note? and will the Roman

Catholics of France lay to heart the lesson? The Turkish Frankenstein has not confined his activity to the Orthodox and Armenians.

Anaplasis estimates the flocks of 17 Orthodox bishoprics, including 388 parishes, numbering 1,014,087 souls and served by 781 priests have been massacred or otherwise extirpated, and that 538 churches have been destroyed more or less completely.

Father Smirnoff, of whose career a sketch is given in this issue, may be succeeded as head of the Russian *prechod* in London by the Archpriest Isvolsky. Fr. Isvolsky, who is a cousin of the distinguished statesman of the same name and a close friend of the Metropolitan Evlogie, was procurator of the Russian Holy Synod until 1917 and is known as a friend of the Anglican Church. He will be very welcome in England. We rejoice to learn that the Deacon Timotheieff was recently ordained priest in Paris.

CONSTANTINOPLE LETTER.

TO write a letter upon things ecclesiastical out here just now is like making bricks without straw—the situation is best described as "nothing doing." The only outstanding event is the change of Armenian Patriarch, and as to that I can give no reliable information except the bare fact. Some say that Zaven did not resign at all, and I have been unable to find out what influence brought about his fall, but the Turkish newspapers professed to find some fault with the choice of his successor.

With regard to the Greeks the ecclesiastical quarrel is at an end. There is no longer any attempt in any quarter to dispute the position of Meletios. No doubt, your Athens correspondent will give you full details of the situation there, but my information from the Phanar is that Theokletos is no longer Metropolitan, and that there is a new Holy Synod under the presidency of a Topoteretes, and that in a few weeks a new Metropolitan will be elected. Meanwhile, brotherly relations have been restored between Athens and the Phanar.

The Turkish frame of mind can be best explained by quoting from their Press of to-day's date. One paper, the *Ileri*, speaks of the Patriarchate as "a political brothel," and says that the Greeks of the Phanar have been crucifying Christ for four hundred years past.

The Jacobite Syrian Church here is now under the charge of a Chorepiscopus. This title has survived with the Syrians as the practical equivalent of Archpriest. The Chorepiscopus is always a married man, and in priest's orders. He wears the episcopal turban, but without the monk's coif, and his gown is edged on the inside with purple.

R. F. BOROUGH.

10th January, 1923.

JERUSALEM LETTER.

ON the 9th December, the anniversary of the liberation of Jerusalem by the British army, there was held in S. George's Cathedral, for the third year in succession, that interesting service which has now become one of the regular features of the Jerusalem year. The service was taken by Archdeacon Waddy (the Bishop in Jerusalem being absent in America), and there were present in the choir, besides the clergy of the diocese, the Orthodox Patriarch Damianos, the Armenian Patriarch, and the representatives of the Jacobite, Coptic and Abyssinian Churches,

as well as a Priest of the American Episcopalian Church. The Orthodox Patriarch, vested in ὠμοφόριον and ἐπιμανίκιον read one of the four lessons in Greek, the others being read by the Governor of Jerusalem, Mr. Storrs, and General Tudor, O.C. Troops, in English, and by Canon Danby in Hebrew. The service itself was on the lines of the two previous years, some of the prayers being read, as usual, in Arabic and Hebrew. In the course of the service, General Tudor unveiled an admirable copy of Watts's Sir Galahad, the generous gift to the Cathedral of the 60th (London) Division. The service was attended by the High Commissioner in full uniform, the Senior Officials of the Government, the Rais al Ulema (who is also the Grand Mufti), together with his colleagues on the Moslem Supreme Council, those members of the Advisory Council present in Jerusalem, Grand Rabbi Jacob Meir, Dr. Weizmann, the Consuls, and the leading members of the Christian, Moslem and Jewish Communities; and the Cathedral presented a very brilliant appearance. One of the transepts was reserved for British ex-Service officers and men, who, previous to the service, were drawn up outside St. George's and reviewed by the High Commissioner. Another interesting episode took place immediately before the service outside the Cathedral door, when the High Commissioner handed to the Patriarch Damianos the insignia of the K.B.E., which had just been conferred on His Beatitude by His Majesty the King.

A well-known ecclesiastic of the Orthodox Patriarchate of Jerusalem, Kleopas, Archbishop of Diocaesarea, has been promoted to be Metropolitan of Nazareth, a post which has been vacant since the expulsion of the late occupant of the See, Glykerios, from the fraternity of the Holy Sepulchre on account of his insistent insubordination to the Patriarch and Synod. The new Metropolitan has taken up his residence in Nazareth, and his titular See of Diocaesarea has been filled by a fresh appointment. Another Archbishop has also been consecrated to the titular See of Ascalon.

His Beatitude Mar Ignatius, Patriarch of the Orthodox Syrian or Jacobite Church, left Jerusalem at the end of October, after a stay of some months on his return to his headquarters near Mosul.

YOUR CORRESPONDENT.

CAIRO LETTER.

FELLOWSHIP OF UNITY CONFERENCE AT CAIRO.

THE second annual Conference of this Fellowship was recently held at Helouan, near Cairo. The report of the first Conference, which had been published in four languages and widely circulated, had aroused interest and clarified impressions as to the aim of this movement. The Conference was again held in ideal surroundings on the edge of the desert, in the cool and shade of house and garden; it partook of the tone and elevation of a spiritual retreat. From the first moment when the members began to assemble, it immediately became obvious how real an advance had been made through the first year's working. The anxiety as to how far we really could meet together as a Fellowship had gone. The extreme tentativeness of our first meeting was exchanged for the sure touch of ripened friendship. It was a gathering this time of old friends.

Efforts had been made to overcome difficulties which had become apparent in our earlier meetings. We had a definite programme into

which a good deal of research work had previously been put, instead of the delicate task of discovering each other's ecclesiastical outlook and credal position, which was the first essential in the founding of our fellowship. The section of community actively interested in reunion is not numerically large in Egypt, though sympathy with the object is widely diffused. In order to assure our constituencies that reunion is not the dream and origination of few local enthusiasts, we devoted this Conference mainly to a series of studies of the different reunion movements in the various parts of the world. We first of all studied the developing relationship between the Anglican Communion and Communities in relationship with it in Great Britain, as the result of the Lambeth appeal of 1920, and of the movement in which that is an episode, the recent step in mutual recognition of Episcopate and sacraments of the Anglican and Swedish Churches. The Conference then heard from the Most Rev. the Archbishop of Nubia, a paper dealing with the relation between the Eastern Orthodox Church and the Anglican. The Archbishop was himself a delegate at the Geneva Conference on Faith and Order, and his experience through working upon the subject has been of considerable value in our movement. The esteem in which Bishop Gwynne, of Egypt and the Sudan, holds the Archbishop of Nubia, dates back to their earlier friendship formed when their work lay together in the South. The encyclical recently issued by His Holiness the Patriarch of Constantinople, recognising the validity of Anglican Orders was placed before the Conference, and deep satisfaction was evinced in this tangible sign of closening relationships. The Rev. M. H. Richmond read a paper drawn largely from the writings of Birkbeck, delineating the gradual steps of *rapprochements* between the Church of England and the Holy Orthodox Church of Russia. A historical study of the divisions in the Scottish Church and recent movements towards reunion was read to the Conference by the Rev. J. A. Findlay. His survey included a description of the steps taken towards a closer approach between Episcopalians and Presbyterians. The Conference also had papers dealing with the unity movements in South India, in America and in Central Africa, and literature was to hand dealing with similar movements in Australia and China.

The Conference, perhaps, reached its highest moments during the discussion upon " What practical steps could be taken by the different Christian Communities in united Christian Fellowship and service ? " The Rev. W. W. Cash, D.S.O., gave to the Conference a study of the Ipswich United Mission, and the discussion which followed surveyed from various angles the practicability of our attempting something of this kind in Cairo, perhaps in two years' time. We were satisfied that we should not achieve unity by aiming simply at unity, but by aiming unitedly at the attainment of that end to which unity is essential. We believe that nothing would so bring the different Christian leaders and led together in this great and composite city, as a Synchronous Mission by each Church to its own followers designed to strengthen faith and life in the deepest things. The Fellowship, therefore, has accepted an United Mission as one of its objectives, to be held possibly in 1924 or 1925.

As a result of this Conference, a strong Executive Committee was appointed, and lines of advance and expansion were laid down. The delegates left in strong and fundamental agreement as to the purpose of the Fellowship.

YOUR CORRESPONDENT.

ATHENS LETTER.

Matters Ecclesiastical in Greece.

IT is obvious, of course, that every member of the Orthodox Church in Greece must have been profoundly affected by the catastrophe that has befallen both the nation and the national stock; there was, however, nothing in it to touch the Church in its corporate capacity, save in so far as the whole of the body must be affected by the peril, still continuing, that besets the Œcumenical patriarchate. The Church in Wales, to take a parallel case, could not but be affected if some political catastrophe should threaten to remove the Primate of all England from Lambeth and Canterbury!

In one direction, however, good has come out of evil, for the national disaster has had this effect, that the old difference between the Metropolitan of Athens and the present holder of the Patriarchate has been allowed to drop out of sight. It is, no doubt, quite possible to present a good case, on paper, against the regularity of the consecration of Meletius, but one does not argue that question when a man is doing his work, while faced with the constant probability of martydom on behalf of his faith and his nation. The question has dropped, as the dispute about the validity of heretical baptism dropped in the third century, when the persecution made it clear that there were matters nearer to the hearts of both SS. Cyprian and Stephen than even the most important point of Church discipline.

Internal political changes in Greece have had, naturally, their effect on a body that is as closely connected with the state as was the Church of England throughout the eighteenth century. Here, religious, or at least disciplinary questions, have been mixed up with politics, and infected by the atmosphere of intrigue that always surrounds politics in these latitudes to a rather unfortunate extent.

Most of our readers will remember that, when Venizelos was exiled from his country during the course of the Great War, he was at the same time excommunicated with every possible formality. The rites were, indeed, interesting to an antiquarian and anthropologist, for they took us straight back, past all cavil, to the days of the Pharmakos and the Thargelia, and to the old worship that preceded even the gods of Olympus in Attica! The hurling of stones at a cairn in token of ignominy and despite (a cairn which the friends of the fallen statesman promptly wreathed with flowers in the night) suggests Plato "on the Laws," rather than modern ecclesiasticism!

Putting antiquarian interest aside, however, the act was one of which it was hard to approve. Think what you will of the wisdom or otherwise of the policy of Venizelos, he had, at least, not been guilty of such heresy or evil-living as would warrant cutting him off from the community of the faithful, and the act was as frankly political as any of the papal excommunications in the great strife over investitures in mediæval days.

The explanation, or excuse, offered subsequently by the Metropolitan (who clearly felt that the act needed defence), was that he acted under duress. "They told me that they would burn my Cathedral, if I did not do it," he remarked pitifully. Purists in architecture have been heard to say (one records it with regret), that it showed great weakness in the Metropolitan, to let so magnificent an opportunity slip. It must be admitted that, were the Cathedral in question to be built

again, modern students of Byzantine architecture could now produce a better specimen of the style! Further, the Metropolitan certainly lost a great opportunity of asserting the true dignity of his office. However, when the Venizelist party came into power again, they were not likely to forget what had happened, and the Metropolitan was put through a regular synodical trial, and deposed from his rank by the verdict of an ecclesiastical court. Then came the restoration of King Constantine, and a fresh grouping of political parties, and the prelate was restored. It is said, however, that this restoration was simply accomplished by the royal "fiat," and that there was no regular reversal of what was a regular ecclesiastical judgment.

In due course, there was a fresh change in the political kaleidoscope, and the recent revolution put a party in power that claimed to be Venizelist in spirit, though it was actually "plus royaliste que le roi," and more zealous than its own uncrowned king! The dismissal of Theokletos was demanded, and that by men who have shown that they are not prepared to stick at trifles, when it is a question of removing political obstacles.

The Metropolitan, however, was very old, being nearly eighty years of age, was known to be in very feeble health, and had never given any evidence of possessing a very strong character. Trained as a monk, he had a monastic mind, and his natural conservatism manifested itself very quaintly at times. Thus, he pronounced electric light to be an improper illuminant for ecclesiastical purposes, and it is said that when he found himself in churches that made use of it, and realised the fact, which his short sight did not always allow him to do, he had a way of breaking off the switch and plunging the Church in darkness till such time as candles should be brought, after which interval the service could continue!

The ruling party then, wishing to get rid of the man without scandal, took the step of giving him a three months' furlough, for which he had not applied, in the hope that his infirmities might solve the problem before its expiry. Theokletos, however, quite declined to die to oblige an opponent, and the government was obliged to proceed to more pronounced measures. They requested his resignation, on any ground he preferred to allege, promising him in that case that he should receive full honorary rank for his life, with a pension amounting to about double of his official salary!

It was fully expected that he would accept such an offer with gratitude, but after taking counsel with his friends, the Metropolitan gave evidence, not only of his possession of a quite unsuspected backbone himself, but of the existence of a strong body of opinion that the position of the government of the moment was by no means so assured as its members would have liked to believe. He absolutely declined to resign, on the express ground that he did not know what the immediate future of the country might be. For the moment, his enemies were nonplussed, nonplussed as completely as a dog may be when a sheep butts at it and fairly knocks it down.

In a day or so, however, they pulled themselves together, and simply declared that the "so-called" Metropolitan was deposed, on the ground that he had been irregularly replaced in an office from which he had been regularly removed, and, therefore, no second trial or investigation was needed. The members of his synod, who had supported their leader loyally, were also removed, and others nominated in their

places, the Metropolitans of Volo, Karevalla, and Thessaly being among them.

The whole series of events has been, of course, a matter of religious politics rather than of religion, and one waits with some interest to see what combination the next shift of the kaleidoscope will produce.

W. A. WIGRAM.

5th January, 1923.

THE ASSYRIAN CHRISTIANS.

I AM sending you the most recent news which I have been able to glean about the condition of affairs among the Assyrians. It appears that the people are feeling very acutely the long delay as to their future place of settlement. Until the Great Powers have concluded their deliberations at Lausanne, and the sphere of British influence is finally determined, there can be no relief from the present anxiety. It is not likely that any man will settle down contentedly in a new district to wake up one morning to find that he is after all a Turkish subject again—the very thing he and his forefathers have been trying to avoid for so many years.

The Assyrians are a scattered nation. Many have gone to America; several thousands are in Constantinople and the Greek Islands; three hundred are stranded in Marseilles waiting to go to South America, without much hope of being allowed to sail. Of the women, hundreds of them are still captive in Moslem harems, and no effort has been made to restore them to their own families! The saddest at heart are the men of N.W. Persia. They long for the Plain of Urmi, with its running streams, melon fields, and fruitful vineyards, perhaps, never to be seen again. There they invested all their savings, and the Moslems of Urmi city have ploughed up both gardens and vineyards in order to obliterate every trace of Christian ownership. A report has reached us that the Persian Government of Teheran would welcome the return of these industrious subjects; but it awaits confirmation. Mar Shimun and Surma Khanim, and some other members of the Patriarch's family have been comfortably housed, for the past eighteen months, in the English Mission House at Bibaydi, near Amadia, kindly lent to them by the Archbishop until other provision can be made for them. Mar Shimun has made two extended tours of the Ashiret country in order to consecrate Churches recently restored after destruction by the Turks. Most gratifying accounts reach us of the reverent and dignified way in which the young Patriarch exercises the episcopal office. During his visitation of his diocese last October, he was hurriedly summoned to return by the Kaimakam of Amadia, as the Zebari Kurds were threatening Amadia and the adjacent Christian villages. But before Mar Shimun and his followers could return, the Assyrians of Baz, who had been visiting their ruined village in company with the Bishop of Jilu, turned up at the right moment and saved the situation, driving the Kurds in all directions. It is wonderful what spirit is left in these mountaineers and they are doing their best to restore their old homesteads, where they long to settle down again, if only some kindly government will cast its mantle of protection over them and secure their future prosperity. They have at their own cost rebuilt many of their churches; their devotion to their religion we cannot but admire. The

great attraction to their old country lies in the fact that there are the ancient churches of their ancestors. A Christian Chief has well expressed this view: "We cannot desert our ancient churches where our forefathers worshipped and the graveyards where our ancestors' bones rest."

The Assyrian refugees in Iraq are smarting under a grave injustice with regard to the disposal of their dead. In neither Mosul, nor Baghdad, has any provision been made for a burying place. The Armenians, the Jacobites, and the Uniat Chaldeans, all have their graveyards, but no right of burial is allowed to the Assyrian "Nestorians" in these places. Recently a child was buried in the Armenian cemetery at Mosul as a great favour, but a charge of two hundred rupees was made; the Assyrians were given to understand that they must not ask for this privilege again. Mar Shimun's brother died in Mosul in 1921; there was no place of burial and his body was carried outside the city and buried by the roadside.

Kemal Pasha's men are active among these people as also among the Kurds. The Assyrians of Upper Tyari returned to their villages in the Chumbar valley last Spring. Shortly after their settlement, messengers were sent by the Turks to Malik Ismail, the Christian Chief, offering to make peace with them if they would assist Kemal's men to turn out the British troops. Malik Ismail gave a curt refusal. The people of Tkhuma, Ashitha, Lizan, and Zerni all returned to their villages in June, 1921. For the most part they found their fields occupied by Kurds, who had sown and reaped during the owners' three years' absence. A nice point had to be settled on their return as to ownership of the coming harvest. The Assyrians acted in an honourable way and agreed to give half to the men who had sown the seed in fields which they supposed would ever be their own.

In one instance the Apinshai Kurds turned out to give a great welcome to their Christian neighbours on their return from the life of refugees. The prestige of the Assyrians as soldiers, since their alliance with the British troops, has everywhere increased, and the Kurds know that it is good policy to be at peace with a neighbour who is reputed to have a strong force behind him

The Rev. Y. M. Neesan, who has been in the service of the Archbishop's Mission for the past thirty years, arrived in London two days before Christmas; he has now gone to U.S.A. on furlough. Before his departure I had the opportunity of much conversation with him, and gathered the more recent facts about the Assyrians of Mesopotamia. There is a body of 20,000 people waiting to be repatriated, or settled, on free lands. Many of these people have been placed to work in districts owned by Moslems, and as their servants. That gives them no prospect for the future. When you have been a freeholder, and your fathers before you, it is a little galling to be compelled to work for a Moslem Agha who takes all the profit, and pays you a mere pittance for your labour. All they ask for is some parcel of lands in place of that held by their forefathers of which the war has now deprived them, so that they may sow and plant and make a living for themselves and their families. They deserve well of the British Government, and we hope the brave fight made by Lord Curzon at Lausanne will result in justice being done to the Christian inhabitants of Iraq. Meanwhile, we must possess our souls in patience, but that is a hard matter when we remember that peace was signed as far back as 1918.

F. N. HEAZELL.

OUR BOOKSHELF

BIRKBECK, THE WORKER FOR THE FUTURE.

The Life and Letters of W. J. Birkbeck. Longmans, Green. 1924. 15s.

During the war it fell to my lot to edit those essays of Mr. Birkbeck which dealt with the Eastern Church, and a volume was published by S.P.C.K. under the title of *Birkbeck and the Russian Church*. To this I prefixed a short memoir of him as of an intimate friend with whom I had been associated ever since we were boys together at Eton. A mass of letters were in existence, for Birkbeck was not only a voluminous correspondent but wrote with a carefulness and a precision which caused his letters to be treasured by his friends. An edition of them has now been put together by his widow and published by Longmans with the above title. The work has been admirably done and, though only a few of the existing documents have been used, the selection covers the ground of Birkbeck's activities and presents him very accurately to the world. I do not wish to go over the course of my memoir and will only add that I doubt whether Birkbeck's generation produced another Anglican layman of his devotion, his intellectual ability and his intimate knowledge of Eastern theological thought. His influence in Russia was very great, and he patiently sowed where we are reaping. He died within three years of what I will not call the fulfilment of his hopes, but of the advent of a relation between Orthodoxy and Anglicanism which I am quite sure he never anticipated.

The *entente* which we see to-day he worked for and always had in view, but that the efforts of a very few honest men on both sides should have developed into the present official relations, that the Patriarchate of his beloved Moscow should be restored and that in the present year of grace representatives both of that Patriarchate and of the Ecumenical Patriarchate should be accredited to Lambeth, would have seemed to him beyond the wildest dream. On the other hand, the Russian Revolution and the fearful persecution of the Church, the plundering of the sacred shrines and the diabolical attempt to wrest Christ from the breasts of the Christ-loving people of Holy Russia would have gone far to break his heart.

Birkbeck had infinite patience; there was nothing of rashness in his methods. He was trusted both in Russia and in England because the ecclesiastical authorities in both countries knew he would not compromise them. He saw clearly that at bottom the Anglican and Orthodox position was the same, and he was too good an historian not to understand the immense amount of prejudice, the produce of centuries of different outlook, that had to be cleared away. How often, for instance, as he stood in a great Russian Church and saw the devotion of the people before the splendid images of the Divine Redeemer, the Mother of God, the Saints and the Angels, must his thoughts have been carried back to the cold and restrained worship of our English sanctuaries! How great the difference! and yet he saw, with his unerring theological acumen, that at bottom both divisions of the Christian family were at one—he was content to wait. His whole heart and soul were Orthodox, but he was Orthodox just because he was an Anglican, because he saw that the fundamental principles of Anglicanism, logically followed and not obscured by prejudices or weakened by compromises, led inevitably, not to Protestantism on the one side or to Rome on the other, but to the great Communion which rests its faith on the Ecumenical decisions and practice of the Catholic Church. Convinced of this, his duty was clear, to do his best where God had placed him for Christian union and to serve to the utmost of his ability the Church in whose bosom he had been baptised and by whose sacramental ordinances his soul was fed.

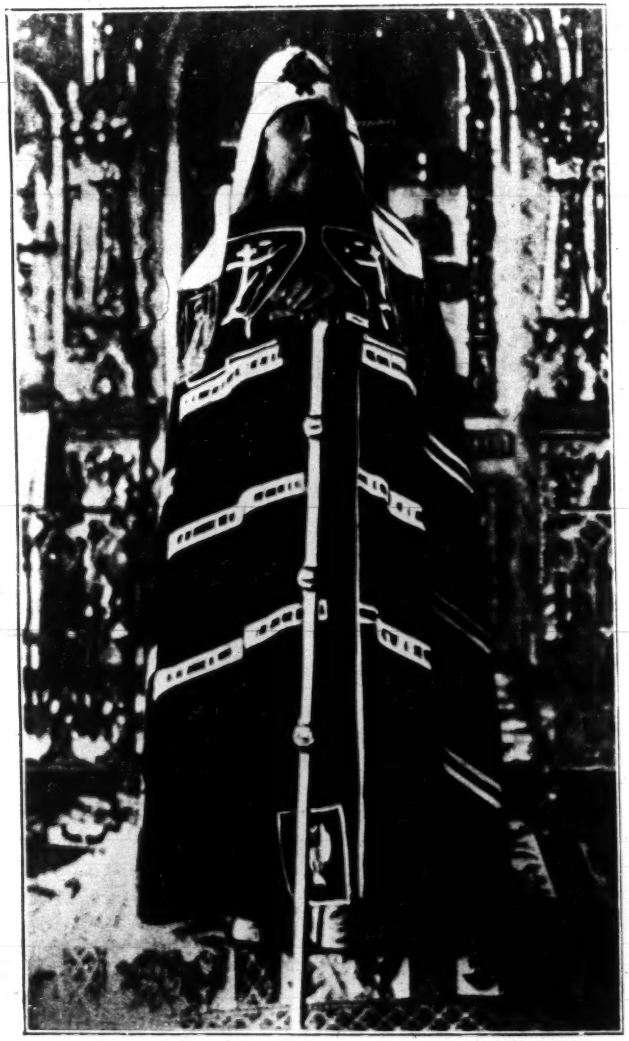
His utmost for the Church of England! This comes out in page after page of his life. There were few episodes in her history during thirty years in which he was not interested, and in which he did not play his part by criticism and counsel. And how clear were his judgments, how witty his remarks! The letters reveal the character of the writer, but only those who knew him can realise his personality. The present writer was with Birkbeck in conferences and meetings innumerable. When some ecclesiastic was talking nonsense the smile which would spread over Birkbeck's face, with the peculiar curl of the lip just hinting at a contempt he was unable to repress, was unforgettable. The unity of the Mystical Body, the Christian triumph over death which would divide us, the mutual help that we all, living and departed, can render, these truths were always in his thoughts and often on his lips. Can we doubt that he is rewarded beyond the veil for his faith and his work below and that his prayers go up before God, with the greater freedom that he is out of the body, for us and for the Churches of Russia and England which he loved so well?

ATHELSTAN RILEY.

The Home of Faideless Splendour, or, Palestine of To-day. By the Rev. George Napier Whittingham Illustrated. Hutchinson & Co. 24s.

Fr. Whittingham says, in his Introduction, that this book is not a guide-book, but a series of impressions. Yet there is a sense in which it is, if not a guide-book at least a guide; but to a mental rather than a material land. Everyone has in his mind a cloudy vision of a remote and romantic country, which is full of the dreams of three religions, peopled by the images of mythical heroes, and overbuilt with the towers of thousands of years of history. Palestine it is called on the maps, but the maps do not show us the real Palestine any more than they showed Francis Thompson the real Sicily. Yet the Palestine of the maps and the Palestine of our minds are both images, and it is the likeness and connection of these two images which Fr. Whittingham's book makes clear. Here the modern Jewish colonies—do not jostle; the writing is too direct and clear for that; but neighbour the discoveries of Queen Helena the Crusades companion a modern pilgrimage to the Dead Sea; Saracen and Franciscan, Zionist and British soldier, Jew and Samaritan, are all in comity together. There was presumably space neither in the book nor in Fr. Whittingham's intention for a chapter on the mystical geography which should trace the Jordan from the spiritual Galilee in which the sacred Mother dwells to the Judæa of the body where Christ is born and dies. But all else is here.

The book should be equally useful to intending travellers and to "home keeping youths." Members of all the Churches, even of all the religions, will find it sympathetic and appreciative. The etchings by Mr. Boulter are beautiful in themselves and in complete accord with the spirit of the book.



THE PATRIARCH TIKHON.

"Christ will defend me."

See p. 59